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Voyages à la croisée des regards sur l'Amérique coloniale
Le récit de quatre voyageurs européens (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)



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Avertissement

Pour la rédaction du mémoire, nous avons référé à différents endroits du texte à des pages que nous avons déjà citées. Ceci nous a obligés à faire un choix afin de simplifier la lisibilité du volume d'annexe. Les différentes pages d'annexes ont donc été classées par voyageur et numérotées selon leur ordre d'apparition dans le récit.

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Partie 1

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Peter Kalm

PETER KALM'S TRAVELS

SEPTEMBER THE 13TH

Captain Lawson, who kept his bed for the greater part of the voyage, on account of his indisposition, assured us yesterday that we were to all appearances very near America : but as the mate was of a different opinion, and as the sailors could see no land from head of the mast, nor find ground by the lead, we steered on directly towards the land. About three o'clock in the morning the captain gave orders to heave the lead, and we found but ten fathoms: the second mate himself took the lead and called out ten and fourteen fathoms, but a moment afterwards the ship struck on the sand, and this shock was followed by four other very violent ones. The consternation was incredible; and very justly might it be so ; for there were above eighty persons on board, and the ship had but one (life) boat : but happily our vessel got off again, after having been turned. At daybreak, which followed soon after (for the accident happened half an hour past four), we saw the continent of America within a Swedish mile before us : the coast was whitish, low, and higher up covered with pines. We found out that the sandbar we struck lay opposite Arcadia in Maryland, in thirty-seven degrees fifty minutes north latitude. (...).

Annexe 1 : KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 6, (source papier)

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SEPTEMBER THE 14TH

We saw land on our larboard in the west, which appeared to be low white, sandy, and higher up the country covered with pines. Cape Henlopen is a headland running into the sea from the western shore, and has a village on it. The eastern shore belongs to New Jersey, and the western to Pennsylvania. The Bay of Delaware has many sandbars and from four to eleven fathoms of water. [...].

Here I shall return to sea and give reader a short account of the various occurrences and phenomena belonging to natural history, during our crossing the Ocean.

Of Sea weeds (*Fucus* Linn.) we saw on August the sixteenth and seventeenth a kind which had a similarity to a bunch of onions tied together. These bunches were of the size of a fist, and of a white color. On September the eleventh, near the coast of America and within the American water, we met likewise with several forms of sea weeks, one species of which was called by the sailors rockweed [...].

Annexe 2 , KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 7 (source papier)

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[...] Blubbers, or *Medusae* L. we found of three kinds : the first is the *Medusa aurita* L.; it is round, purple-colored, opens like a bag, and in it are, as it were, four white rings. Their size varies from one inch diameter to six inches. They have not that nettling and burning quality which other blubbers have, as for instance those found near the coast of Norway and in the ocean. These we met chiefly in the Channel in the Bay of Biscay [...].

Annexe 3, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 9 (source papier)

pieces of his own species, or the flying fish, the latter being their chief food. It is by their chasing them that the flying fish leave their element to find shelter in one to which they are strangers. The dolphins sometimes leap a fathom out of the water, and love to swim about casks and logs of wood that sometimes drift in the sea. They are eaten with butter, when boiled, and are sometimes fried, and afford a palatable but rather dry food. In the bellies of the fish of this species which we caught, several animals were found, *viz.* an ostracion; a little fish with blue eyes, which was yet alive, having been swallowed just the moment before, and measuring two inches in length. Another little fish, a curious marine insect, and a flying fish, none being damaged by digestion, I preserved in spirits.

The flying fish (*Exocoetus volitans* L.) are always seen in great schools, sometimes a hundred or more coming out of the water at once, being pursued by greater fish, and chiefly by dolphins. They rise about a yard and even a fathom above the water in their flight, but they attain this height only when they take their flight from the top of a wave; and sometimes it is said they fall on the deck of ships. The greatest distance they fly is a good musket-shot, and this they perform in less than half a minute's time; their motion is somewhat like that of the yellow-hammer (*Emberiza citrinella* L.). It is very remarkable that I found the course they took always to be against the wind, though I was contradicted by the sailors, who affirmed that they flew in any direction. I nevertheless was confirmed in my opinion by a careful observation during the whole voyage, according to which they fly constantly either directly against the wind, or in a somewhat oblique direction.

We saw likewise the fish called bonitos (*Scomber pelamys* L.). They too were in schools, hunting some smaller fish, which chase caused a noise like that of a cascade because they were all swimming close in a body; but they always kept out of the reach of our harpoons.

Of amphibious animals or reptiles, we met twice with a turtle, one of which was sleeping; the other swam without taking notice of our ship; none was two feet in diameter.

Birds are pretty frequently seen on the ocean, though aquatic birds are of course more common than land birds.

Annexe 4, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 12, (source papier)

PETER KALM'S TRAVELS

SEPTEMBER THE 15TH

[...] As soon as we had come to town and cast anchor many of the inhabitants came on board to inquire for letters. They took all those which they could carry, either for themselves or for their friends. Those which remained the captain ordered to be carried on shore and to be brought into a coffe-house, where everybody could make inquiry for them, and by means he was rid of the trouble of delivering them himself. I afterwards went on shore with him. But before he went he strictly charged the second mate to let no one of the German refugees out of the ship unless [p 17] he paid for his passage or somebody else paid for him or bought him.[...].

Annexe 5, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1^{ère} ed 1937), 1964, page 16, (source papier)

are more commonly used, since they are made near the town and are of good quality. The stone which has been employed in the building of houses is a mixture of a loose and quite small-grained limestone and of a black or grey glimmer, running in undulated veins which run scattered between the bendings of other veins and are of a gray color excepting here and there some single grains of sand of a paler hue. The glimmer forms the greatest part of the stone, but the mixture is sometimes of another kind, as I shall relate below under the date of the eleventh of October. This stone is now obtained in great quantities in the country, is easily cut, and has the good quality of not attracting moisture in a wet season. Very good lime is burnt everywhere hereabouts for masonry.

The houses are covered with shingles. The wood for this purpose is taken from the *Cupressus thyoides* L. or a tree which Swedes here call the "white juniper tree", and the English "the white cedar". Swamps and morasses formerly were full of them, but at present these trees are for the greatest part cut down and no attempt has as yet been made to plant new ones. The wood is very light, rots less than any other in this country, and for that reason is exceedingly good for roofs, for it is not too heavy for the walls and will last forty or fifty years. But many people already begin to fear that these roofs will in time be looked upon as having been very detrimental to the city. For being so very light, most people who have built their houses of stone or bricks have been led to make their walls extremely thin. At present this kind of wood is almost entirely gone. Whenever, therefore, in process of time these roofs decay, the people will be obliged to have recourse to the heavier materials of tiles or the like, which the walls will not be strong enough to bear. The roof will therefore require more support or the people be obliged to pull down the walls and build new ones, or to take other steps for securing them. Several people have already in late years begun to make roofs of tiles.

Among the public buildings I shall first mention churches, of which there are several, for God is served in various ways in this country.

1. The *English established church* stands in the northern part of the town, at some distance from the market, and is the finest

Annexe 6, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 20, (source papier)

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of all. It has a small, insignificant steeple, in which a bell is rung when it is time to go to church, and at burials. It has likewise a clock which strikes the hours. This building, which is called Christ Church, was founded towards the end of the last century, but has lately been rebuilt and more adorned. It has two ministers who get the greatest part of their salary from England. In the beginning of this century the Swedish minister, the Rev. Mr. Rudman¹, performed the functions of a clergyman in the English congregation for nearly two years during the absence of their own clergyman.

2. The *Swedish church*, which is otherwise called the Church of Wicaco, is in the southern part of the town, almost outside of it on the riverside, and its location is therefore more agreeable than that of any other. I shall have an opportunity of describing it more exactly when I speak of the Swedes who live in this place.

3. The *German Lutheran church* is on the northwest side of the town. On my arrival in America it had a little steeple, but having been put up by an ignorant builder before the walls of the church had become quite dry, the latter were forced out by its weight and the steeple had to be pulled down again in the autumn of the year 1750. About that time the congregation received a fine organ from Germany. They have only one minister, who also preaches at another Lutheran church in Germantown. He preaches alternately one Sunday in that church, and the other in this. The first clergyman which the Lutherans had in this town was the Rev. Mr. Mühlenberg² who laid the foundations of the church in 1743, and being called to another place afterwards, the Rev. Mr. Brunnholtz³, a Dane from Schleswig, was his successor, and he is still there. Both these gentlemen were sent here from

¹ Andreas Johannes Rudman (1668-1708) arrived in America, 1697, and became the founder of the present church of Gloria Dei at Philadelphia, then Wicaco. He also preached for the Dutch in New York, and "officiated at the Oxford Church, near Frankford." He was associated with Christ Church, Philadelphia, when he died, at the early age of forty.

² Rev. Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg (1711-1781) landed in Philadelphia, November, 1742, to take charge of the German and Swedish Lutherans. His name and work are of course well known in the history of Pennsylvania.

³ Rev. P. Brunnholtz was at first Mühlenberg's assistant, assigned to Philadelphia and Germantown. Since he came from Schleswig Professor A. B. Faust naturally calls him a German. See his *The German Element in the United States*, second ed., p. 119.

Annexe 7, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 21, (source papier)

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pital which had been erected in Georgia. Here he frequently collected seventy pounds sterling at one sermon; nay, at two sermons which he preached in the year 1740, both on one Sunday, at Philadelphia, he received a hundred and fifty pounds. The proselytes of this man, or the above-mentioned "New-lights", are at present merely a sect of Presbyterians. For though Whitefield was originally a clergyman of the English church, he deviated little by little from her doctrines, and on arriving in the year 1744 at Boston in New England the Presbyterians argued with him about their teachings so much that he embraced them almost entirely. For Whitefield was no great disputant and could therefore easily be led by these cunning people whithersoever they would have him. This also, during his latter stay in America, caused his audience to be less numerous than during the first. The New-lights first built in the year 1741 a large house in the western part of the town in which to hold divine service. But a division arising amongst them after the departure of Whitefield, and also for other reasons, the building was sold to the town in the beginning of the year 1750 and destined for a school. The New-lights then built a church which I call the new Presbyterian one. On its eastern pediment is the following inscription, in golden letters: *Templum Presbyterianum, annuente numine, erectum, Anno Dom. MDCCL.*

6. The *Old German Reformed* (Calvinistic) church is built in the west-northwest part of the town and looks like the church in Ladugårdsgärdet near Stockholm. It is not yet finished, though for several years the congregation has kept up divine service in it. These Germans attended the German service at the Swedish church whilst the Swedish minister Mr. Dylander lived.—But as the Lutherans procured a clergyman of their own on the death of the last, those of the Reformed church likewise made preparations to obtain one from Dordrecht, Holland, and the first who was sent to them was the Rev. Mr. Slaughter whom I found on my arrival. But in the year 1750, another clergyman of the Reformed church arrived from Holland and by his artful behavior so insinuated himself into the favor of the Rev. Mr. Slaughter's congregation that the latter lost almost half of his audience. The two clergymen then disputed for several Sundays about the pulpit; nay, people relate that the newcomer mounted the pulpit

Annexe 8, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 23, (source papier)

on a Saturday and stayed in it all night, the other being thus excluded. The two parties in the audience made themselves the subject both of the laughter and of the scorn of the whole town by beating and bruising each other and committing other excesses. The affair was inquired into by the magistrates and decided in favor of the Rev. Mr. Slaughter, the person who had been abused.

7. The *New Reformed church* was built at a little distance from the old one by the party of the clergyman who had lost his cause. The newcomer, however, had influence enough to bring over to his party almost the whole audience of his antagonist at the end of the year 1750, and therefore this new church will soon be useless.

8. & 9. The *Quakers* have two meeting-houses, one in the market and the other in the northern part of the town. Among them, according to their custom, there are neither altars nor pulpits nor any other ornament usual in churches, but only seats and some sconces. They meet thrice every Sunday in them, and besides that at certain times every week or every month. I shall mention more about them hereafter.

10. The *Anabaptists* have their service in the northern part of the town.

11. The *Roman Catholics* have in the southwest part of the town a large building which is well adorned within and has an organ.

12. The *Moravian or Zinzendorbian Brethren* have hired a large house in the northern part of the town, in which they perform service both in German and English, not only twice or three times every Sunday but every night after it has grown dark. In the winter of the year 1750 they were obliged to drop their evening meeting, some wanton young fellows having several times disturbed the congregation by an instrument sounding like the note of a cuckoo; for this noise they made in a dark corner not only at the end of every stanza but likewise at that of every line whilst they were singing a hymn.

Those of the English church, the New-lights, the Quakers, and the Germans of the Reformed religion have their burying places out of town and not near their churches, though the first of these sometimes makes an exception. All the others bury their dead in their church-yards, and the Moravian Brethren bury where they

Annexe 9, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 24, (source papier)

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[...] I now proceed to mention the other public buildings in Philadelphia.

The Town Hall or the place where the assemblies are held, is situated in the western part of the town. It is a fine, large building having a power and a bell, and is the greatest ornament in the town. The deputies of each province commonly meet in it every October, or even more frequently if circumstances require it, in order to consider the welfare of the country and to hold their parliament or diets in miniature. There they revise the old laws and make new ones. [...]

Annexe 10, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 25, (source papier)

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one of the largest rivers: it is three English miles broad at its mouth, two miles at the town of Wilmington, and three quarters of a mile at Philadelphia. This city lies within ninety or a hundred English miles from the sea, or from the place where the river Delaware discharges itself into the bay of that name. Yet its depth is hardly ever less than five or six fathoms. The largest ships therefore can sail right up to the town and anchor in good ground in five fathoms of water on the side of the bridge. The water here has no longer a saltish taste, and therefore all destructive worms which have fastened themselves to the ships in the sea and have pierced holes into them either die or drop off, after the ship has been here for a while.

The only disadvantage which commerce has here is the freezing of the river almost every winter for a month or more. For during that time navigation is entirely stopped. This does not happen at Boston, New York and other towns which are nearer the sea.

The tide comes up to Philadelphia and even goes thirty miles higher to Trenton. The difference between high and low water is eight feet at Philadelphia.

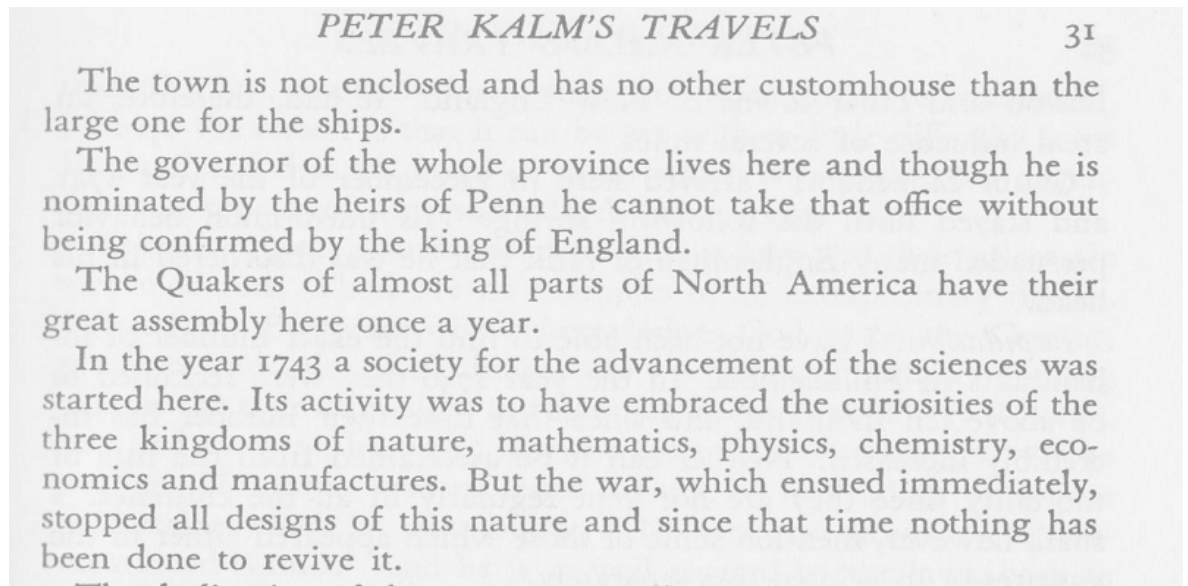
The cataracts of the Delaware near Trenton and of the Schuylkill at some distance from Philadelphia make these rivers useless further up the country in regard to the conveyance of goods either from or to Philadelphia. They must therefore be carried on wagons or carts. It has therefore already been thought of making these two rivers navigable [for greater distances and] for larger vessels.

Several ships are built annually of American oak, in the docks which are found in several parts of and near the town, yet they can by no means be compared with those built of European oak in point of goodness and durability.

The town carries on a great trade both with the inhabitants of the country and with other parts of the world, especially the West Indies, South America and the Antilles, England, Ireland, Portugal and the various English colonies in North America. Yet none but English ships are allowed to come into this port.

Philadelphia reaps the greatest profits from its trade with the West Indies. For thither the inhabitants ship almost every day a quantity of flour, butter, meat and other victuals, timber, planks and the like. In return they receive either sugar, molasses, rum, indigo, mahogany and other goods or ready money. The true mahogany which grows in Jamaica is at present almost all cut down. Phila-

Annexe 11, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 27, (source papier)



Annexe 12, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 31, (source papier)

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(...). To satisfy the curiosity of those who are willing to know how the woods look in this country and whether or no the trees in them are the same as those found in our forest, I here inserted a small catalogue of those which grow wild in the woods nearest to Philadelphia. I exclude such shrubs as do not attain any considerable height. I shall put that tree first in order which is most plentiful and so on with the rest, and therefore trees which I have found but single, though near the town, will be last.

1. *Quercus alba*, the white oak in good ground.
2. *Quercus nigra*, or the black oak.
3. *Quercus Hispanica*, the Spanish oak, a variety of the proceeding.
4. *Juglans alba*, hickory, a kind of walnut tree, of which tree or four varieties are to be met with.
5. *Rubus occidentalis*, or American blackberry shrub.
6. *Acer rubrum*, the maple tree with red flowers, in swamps.
7. *Rhus glabra*, the smooth leaved sumach, in the woods, on high glades and old corn fields.
8. *Vitis lanrusca* and *vulpina*, grape vines of several kinds.
9. *Sambacus Canadensis*, American elder tree, along the hedges and on glades. *Quercus phellos*, the swamp oak, in morasses.
10. *Quercus phellos*, the swampoak, in morasses.
11. *Azalea lutea*, the swamp oak, in morasses.
12. *Crataegus Crus galli*, cockspur thorn (the Virginian azarole), in woods.
13. *Vaccinium*....., a special of whoteleberry shrub.
14. *Quercus prinus*, the chestnut oak in good ground. [Etc.]

Annexe 13, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 37, (source papier)

Indians. Everyone was of the opinion that the American savages were a very good-natured people, if they were not attacked. Nobody was so strict in keeping his word as a savage. If any one of their allies came to visit them they showed him more kindness and greater endeavors to serve him than he could have expected from his own countrymen. Mr. Cock gave me the following account as a proof of their integrity. About two years ago an English merchant travelling among the savages in order to sell them necessaries and to buy other goods was secretly killed without the murderers being found out. But about a year afterward the savages found out the guilty person amongst themselves. They immediately seized him, bound his hands on his back, and thus sent him with a guard to

¹ We doubt that this rather large animal, if full-grown, can be a food for snakes in the United States.

Annexe 14, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 53, (source papier)

Indians. Before I proceed I must mention one thing about the Indians or old Americans; for this account may find readers, who, like many people of my acquaintance, have the opinion that North America is almost wholly inhabited by savage or heathen nations; and they may be astonished that I do not mention them more frequently in my account. Others may perhaps imagine that when I state in my journal that the country is widely cultivated, that in several places houses of stone or wood are built, round which are grain fields, gardens and orchards, that I am speaking of the property of the Indians. To undeceive them I shall here give the following explanation. The country, especially that along the coasts in the English colonies, is inhabited by Europeans, who in some places are already so numerous that few parts of Europe are more populous. The Indians have sold the land to the Europeans, and have retired further inland. In most parts you may travel twenty Swedish miles, or about a hundred and twenty English miles, from the coast, before you reach the first habitation of the Indians. And it is very possible for a person to have been at Philadelphia and other towns on the seashore for half a year without so much as seeing an Indian. I intend further on to give a more circumstantial account of them, their religion, manners, economic conditions, and other particulars. At present I return to the continuation of my journal.

Annexe 15, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 119, (source papier)

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When this is done, the fish is put into proper vessels and carried to Albany upon the river Hudson; there the Indians buy them, and reckon them one of their best dishes. Besides the Europeans, many of the native Indians come annually down to the seashore in order to get clams, proceeding with them afterwards in the manner I have just described. They are ordinarily prepared like oysters. Sometimes they are baked in their shells, sometimes stewed in butter; other times they are boiled and placed in meat-soups. They are often served on a platter with steaks or other meat. No matter how prepared they make a palatable food. I have often eaten them during my travels, but they seemed a little hard for the stomach to digest.

Wampum. The shells of these clams are used by the Indians as money and make what they call their wampum; they likewise serve their women as ornaments, when they intend to appear in full dress. This wampum is properly made of the purple part of the shells, which the Indians value more than the white part. A traveller who goes to trade with the Indians and is well stocked with it, may become a considerable gainer, but if he takes gold coin, or bullion, he will undoubtedly be a loser, for the Indians who live farther back in the country put little or no value upon these metals which we reckon so precious, as I have frequently observed in the course of my travels. The Indians formerly made their own wampum, though not without great difficulties, but at present it is made mostly by the Europeans, especially by the inhabitants of Albany, who make a considerable profit by it. Later I intend to relate the manner of making the wampum.

NOVEMBER THE 2ND

The Jews. Besides the different sects of Christians, many Jews have settled in New York, who possess great privileges. They have a synagogue, own their dwelling-houses, possess large country-seats and are allowed to keep shops in town. They have likewise several ships, which they load and send out with their own goods. In fine, they enjoy all the privileges common to the other inhabitants of this town and province.

A daughter of one of the richest Jews had married a Christian after she had renounced the Jewish religion. Her sister did not wish

Annexe 16, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 129, (source papier)

either to marry a Jew, so went to London to get a Christian husband.

During my residence in New York, both at this time and for the next two years, I was frequently in company with Jews. I was informed among other things that these people never boiled any meat for themselves on Saturday, but that they always did it the day before, and that in winter they kept a fire during the whole Saturday. They commonly eat no pork; yet I have been told by several trustworthy men that many of them (especially the young Jews) when travelling, did not hesitate the least about eating this or any other meat that was put before them, even though they were in company with Christians. I was in their synagogue last evening for the first time, and to-day at noon I visited it again, and each time I was put in a special seat which was set apart for strangers or Christians. A young rabbi read the divine service, which was partly in Hebrew and partly in the Rabbinical dialect. Both men and women were dressed entirely in the English fashion; the former had their hats on, and did not once take them off during the service. The galleries, I observed, were reserved for the ladies, while the men sat below. During prayers the men spread a white cloth over their heads, which perhaps is to represent sackcloth. But I observed that the wealthier sort of people had a much richer cloth than the poorer ones. Many of the men had Hebrew books, in which they sang and read alternately. The rabbi stood in the middle of the synagogue and read with his face turned towards the east; he spoke however so fast as to make it almost impossible for any one to understand what he said.¹

New York. New York, the capital of a province of the same name, is situated forty degrees and forty minutes north latitude and forty-seven degrees and four minutes western longitude from London, and is about ninety-seven English miles from Philadelphia. The location of the city is extremely advantageous for trade, for it stands a short distance from the sea upon a point which is formed by two bays, into one of which the river Hudson empties not far from the town. New York is therefore on three sides surrounded by water. The ground it is built on is level in some parts and hilly in others. The place is generally reckoned very healthy.

¹ As there were very few Jews in Sweden at the time, Kalm was a stranger to their manners and religious customs and therefore relates them as a kind of novelty.

Annexe 17, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 130, (source papier)

hot, and a rain was expected) and in a manner drown the singing of the birds. They frequently make such a noise that it is difficult for a person to make himself heard.

Most of the houses are built of brick, and are generally strong and neat, and several stories high. Some had, in the old style, turned the gable end toward the street; but the new houses were altered in this respect. Many of the houses had a balcony on the roof, on which the people used to sit evenings in the summer season; and from thence they had a pleasant view of a great part of the town, and likewise of a part of the adjacent water and the opposite shore. The roofs are commonly covered with tiles or shingles, the latter of which are made of the white fir tree, or *Pinus strobus* L., which grows further north in the country. The inhabitants are of the opinion that a roof made of these shingles is as durable as one made in Pennsylvania of the white cedar, or *Cupressus thyoides* L. The walls were whitewashed within, and I did not anywhere see wall paper, with which the people of this country seem in general to be but little acquainted. The walls were covered with all sorts of drawings and pictures in small frames. On each side of the chimneys they had usually a sort of alcove, and the walls under the windows were wainscoted and had benches placed near them. The cupboards and all the wood work were painted with a bluish gray color.

There are several churches in the town which deserve mention.

1. The *English Church*, built in the year 1695, at the west end of the town, is built of stone, and has a steeple with a bell.
2. The *New Dutch Church*, which is likewise built of stone, is pretty large, and is provided with a steeple; it also has a clock, the only one in the town. This church stands almost due north and south. In several instances here no particular point of the compass has been considered in erecting sacred buildings. Some churches stand, as is usual, east and west; others south and north, and others in still different positions. In the Dutch church, there is neither altar, vestry, choir, sconces, nor paintings. Some trees are planted round it, which make it look as if it were built in a wood.
3. The *Old Dutch Church* is also built of stone. It is not so large as the new one. It was painted on the inside, though without images, and adorned with a small organ, of which governor Burnet

Annexe 18, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 132, (source papier)

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made them a present. The men for the most part sit in the gallery, and the women below.

4. The *Presbyterian Church*, which is pretty large and was built but lately. It is of stone, and has a steeple and bell in it.

5. The *German Lutheran Church*.

6. The *German Reformed Church*.

7. The *French Church*, for Protestant refugees.

8. The *Quakers' Meeting House*.

To these may be added the *Jewish Synagogue* which I mentioned before.

Toward the sea, on the extremity of the promontory, is a tolerably good fortress, called Fort George, which entirely commands the port, and can defend the town, at least from a sudden attack on the sea side. Besides that, it is also secured on the north, or the land side, by a pallisade, which however (since for a considerable time the people have had nothing to fear from an enemy) is in many places in a very poor condition.

There is no good water in the town itself, but at a little distance away there is a large spring which the inhabitants use for their tea and for other kitchen purposes. Those people however who are less particular in this matter use the water from the wells in town, though it be very bad. This want of good water is hard on strangers' horses that come to the place, for they do not like to drink the well water.

The *Port* is a good one: ships of the greatest tonnage can lie in it, close to the bridge; but its water is very salt as the sea continually washes into it, and therefore is never frozen, except in extraordinarily cold weather. This is of great advantage to the city and its commerce; for many ships enter or leave the port at all times of the year, unless the winds be contrary, a convenience, which as I have before observed, is wanting at Philadelphia. It is secured from all violent hurricanes from the southeast by Long Island, which is situated just in front of the town; therefore only the storms from the southwest are dangerous to the ships which ride at anchor here, because the port is open only on that side. The entrance however has its faults: one of them is that no men-of-war can pass through it; for though the water is pretty deep, it is not sufficiently so for great ships. Sometimes even merchant ships of a large size

Annexe 20, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 133, (source papier)

of September, 1729.

An *assembly of deputies* from all the different districts of the province is held at New York once or twice every year. It may be looked upon as a parliament or diet in miniature. Everything relating to the good of the province is here debated. The governor calls the assembly, and dissolves it at pleasure. This is a power which he ought only to make use of, either when no farther debates are necessary or when the members are not so unanimous in the service of their king and country as is their duty. It frequently happens, however, that led aside by caprice or by self-interested views, he exerts it to the prejudice of the province. The colony has sometimes had a governor, whose quarrels with the inhabitants have induced their representatives, or the members of the assembly, through malice to oppose indifferently everything he proposed, whether it was beneficial to the country or not. In such cases the governor has made use of his power, dissolving the assembly, and calling another soon after, which however he again dissolved upon the least mark of their ill humor. By this means he so tired them, by the many expenses which they were forced to bear in so short a time, that they were at last glad to unite with him in his endeavors for the good of the province. But there have likewise been governors who have called assemblies and dissolved them soon after, merely because the representatives did not act according to their whims or would not give their assent to proposals which were perhaps dangerous or hurtful to the common welfare.

The king appoints the governor according to his royal pleasure; but the inhabitants of the province make up his excellency's salary. Therefore a man entrusted with this position has greater or lesser revenues, according to his ability of gaining the confidence of the inhabitants. There are examples of governors in this and other provinces of North America, who by their dissensions with the inhabitants of their respective provinces have lost their whole salary, his Majesty having no power to make them pay it. If a governor had no other resources in such circumstances he would

Annexe 20, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 137, (source papier)

be obliged either to resign his office, to be content with an income too small for his dignity, or else to conform in everything to the inclinations of the inhabitants. But there are several stated profits which in some measure make up for this.

1. No one is allowed to keep a public house without the governor's leave, which is only to be obtained by the payment of a certain fee, according to the circumstances of the person. Some governors therefore, when the inhabitants refuse to pay them a salary, have hit upon the expedient of doubling the number of inns in their province.

2. Few people who intend to be married, unless they be very poor, will have their banns published from the pulpit; so instead of this they get licenses from the governor, which empower any minister to marry them. Now for such a license the governor receives about half a guinea, and this collected throughout the whole province amounts to a considerable sum.

3. The governor signs all passports, and especially of such travellers as go to sea, and this gives him another means of supplying his expenses. There are several other advantages allowed to him, but as they are very trifling I shall omit them.

At the above assembly the old laws are reviewed and amended, and new ones are made, and the regulation and circulation of the coinage together with all other affairs of that kind are there determined. For it is to be observed that each English colony in North America is independent of the other, and that each has its own laws and coinage, and may be looked upon in several lights as a state by itself. Hence it happens that in time of war things go on very slowly and irregularly here; for not only the opinion of one province is sometimes directly opposite to that of another, but frequently the views of the governor and those of the assembly of the same province are quite different; so that it is easy to see that, while the people are quarrelling about the best and cheapest manner of carrying on the war, an enemy has it in his power to take one place after another. It has usually happened that while some provinces have been suffering from their enemies, the neighboring ones have been quiet and inactive, as if it did not in the least concern them. They have frequently taken up two or three years in considering whether or not they should give assistance to an oppressed sister colony, and sometimes they have expressly declared themselves

Annexe 21, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 138, (source papier)

his locality.

In the year 1710 five chiefs or sachems of the Iroquois went from here to England in order to engage Queen Anne to make an alliance with them against the French. Their names, dress, reception at court, speeches to the Queen, opinion of England and of the European manners, and several other particulars about them are sufficiently known from other writings; it would therefore be unnecessary to enlarge upon them here. The sachems of the Indians have commonly no greater authority over their subjects than constables in a meeting of the inhabitants of a parish, and hardly that much. On my travels through the country of these Indians I had never any occasion to go and call upon the chiefs, for they always came into my habitation without being asked. These visits they usually paid in order to get a glass or two of brandy, which they value above anything they know. One of the five sachems mentioned above died in England; the others returned safe.

The *first colonists* in New York were Dutchmen. When the town and its territories were taken by the English and left to them

Annexe 22, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 141, (source papier)

by the next peace in exchange for Surinam,¹ the old inhabitants were allowed either to remain at New York, and enjoy all the privileges and immunities which they were possessed of before, or to leave the place with all their goods. Most of them chose the former; and therefore the inhabitants both of the town and of the province belonging to it are still for the greatest part Dutch, who still, and especially the old people, speak their mother tongue.

They were beginning however by degrees to change their manners and opinions, chiefly indeed in the town and in its neighborhood; for most of the young people now speak principally English, go only to the English church, and would even take it amiss if they were called Dutchmen and not Englishmen.

Treatment of Germans. Though the province of New York has been inhabited by Europeans much longer than Pennsylvania, yet it is not by far so populous as that colony. This cannot be ascribed to any particular discouragement arising from the nature of the soil, for that is pretty good, but I was told of a very different reason which I shall mention here. In the reign of Queen Anne, about the year 1709, many Germans came hither, who got a tract of land from the government on which they might settle. After they had lived here for some time, and had built houses and churches and cultivated fields and meadows, their liberties and privileges were infringed upon, and under several pretences they were repeatedly deprived of parts of their land. This at last roused the Germans; they returned violence for violence, and beat those who thus robbed them of their possessions. But these proceedings were looked upon in a very bad light by the government: the leading Germans being imprisoned, they were very roughly treated and punished with the utmost rigor of the law. This however so exasperated the rest, that the greater part of them left their houses and fields and went to settle in Pennsylvania. There they were exceedingly well received, got a considerable tract of land, and were granted great privileges in perpetuity. The Germans not satisfied with being themselves removed from New York, wrote to their relations and friends and advised them if ever they intended to come to America not to go to New York, where the government had shown itself so inequitable. This advice had such influence that the Germans, who afterwards emigrated in great numbers to North America,

¹ Surinam is Dutch Guiana.

Annexe 23, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 142, (source papier

Fish. Aged people had experienced with the fish the same conditions which I have just mentioned in regard to birds. In their youth, the bays, rivers and brooks, had such quantities of fish that at one draught in the morning they caught as many as a horse was able to carry home. But at present things are greatly altered, and they often work in vain all night long with their fishing tackle. The causes of this decrease of fish are partly the same as those of the diminution in the number of birds. They are of late caught by a greater variety of contrivances, and in different manners than before. The numerous mills on the rivers and brooks likewise contribute to it in part; for it has been observed here that the fish go up the river in order to spawn in shallow water in the spring; but when they meet with waterfalls that prevent their proceeding, they turn back, and never return.¹ Of this I was assured by a man of fortune at Boston; his father used to catch a number of herrings throughout the winter and almost always in summer, in a river, upon his countryseat; but when he built a mill with a dam in this water, they were lost. Consequently they complained here and everywhere of the decrease of fish. Old people asserted the same in regard to oysters at New York, for though they are still taken in considerable quantity and are as big and as delicious as can be wished, yet all the oyster fishermen own that the number diminishes greatly every year. The most natural cause of it is probably the immoderate catching of them at all times of the year.

Many old people said that the difference in the quantity of fish in their youth in comparison with that of to-day was as great as between day and night.

Annexe 24, KALM Peter, Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 154, (source papier

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NOVEMBER THE 14TH

Squirrels. The squirrels which run about in large numbers in the woods are of different species. I here intend to describe the most common sorts, more accurately.

Gray squirrels are very plentiful in Pennsylvania and in the other provinces of North America. Their shape corresponds to that of our Swedish squirrel ; but they differ from ou in keeping their gray color all year and by being somewhat bigger in size. The woods in all provinces, and chiefly in New Sweden, consist of deciduous trees and in such these squirrels like to live. Ray in his *Synopsis Quadrupedum*, and Catesby in his *Natural History of Carolina* (Vol.2) call it the Virginian greater grey squirrel; and the latter has added a sketch of it from life. The Swedes call it *gra ekorre*, which is the same as the English “gray squirrel.” Their nests are usually in hollow trees, and are made of moss, straw, and other soft things. Their food consists chiefly of nuts, as hazel nuts, chinquapins, chestnuts, walnuts, hickory nuts, and the acorns of all sorts of oak which grow here ; but they like corn best. The ground in the woods in the autumn covered with acorns and all kinds of nuts which drop from the trees; of these the squirrels gather great stores for winter, which they lay up in the holes dug by them for that purpose. They likewise carry a great quantity of them into their nests [...].

Annexe 25, KALM Peter, Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 164, (source papier

Servants. The servants which are employed in the English-American colonies are either free persons or slaves, and the former, again, are of two different classes.

1. Those who are entirely free serve by the year. They are not only allowed to leave their service at the expiration of their year, but may leave it at any time when they do not agree with their masters. However, in that case they are in danger of losing their wages, which are very considerable. A man servant who has some ability gets between sixteen and twenty pounds in Pennsylvania currency, but those in the country do not get so much. A maidservant gets eight

Annexe 26, KALM Peter, Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 204, (source papier

or ten pounds a year. These servants have their food besides their wages, but they must buy their own clothes, and whatever they get of these as gifts they must thank their master's generosity for.

Indenture. 2. The second kind of free servants consists of such persons as annually come from Germany, England and other countries, in order to settle here. These newcomers are very numerous every year: there are old and young of both sexes. Some of them have fled from oppression, under which they have labored. Others have been driven from their country by religious persecution, but most of them are poor and have not money enough to pay their passage, which is between six and eight pounds sterling for each person. Therefore, they agree with the captain that they will suffer themselves to be sold for a few years on their arrival. In that case the person who buys them pays the freight for them; but frequently very old people come over who cannot pay their passage, they therefore sell their children for several years, so that they serve both for themselves and for their parents. There are likewise some who pay part of their passage, and they are sold only for a short time. From these circumstances it appears that the price on the poor foreigners who come over to North America varies considerably, and that some of them have to serve longer than others. When their time has expired, they get a new suit of clothes from their master and some other things. He is likewise obliged to feed and clothe them during the years of their servitude. Many of the Germans who come hither bring money enough with them to pay their passage, but prefer to be sold, hoping that during their servitude they may get a knowledge of the language and character of the country and the life, that they may the better be able to consider what they shall do when they have gotten their liberty. Such servants are preferable to all others, because they are not so expensive. To buy a negro or black slave requires too much money at one time; and men or maids who get yearly wages are likewise too costly. But this kind of servant may be gotten for half the money, and even for less; for they commonly pay fourteen pounds, Pennsylvania currency, for a person who is to serve four years, and so on in proportion. Their wages therefore are not above three pounds Pennsylvania currency per annum. These servants are, after the English, called *servingar* by the Swedes. When a person has bought such a servant for a certain number of years, and has an intention to sell him again, he is at liberty to do

Annexe 27 : KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 205, (source papier

so, but is obliged, at the expiration of the term of servitude, to provide the usual suit of clothes for the servant, unless he has made that part of the bargain with the purchaser. The English and Irish commonly sell themselves for four years, but the Germans frequently agree with the captain before they set out, to pay him a certain sum of money, for a certain number of persons. As soon as they arrive in America they go about and try to get a man who will pay the passage for them. In return they give according to their circumstances, one or several of their children to serve a certain number of years. At last they make their bargain with the highest bidder.

3. The *negroes* or blacks constitute the third kind. They are in a manner slaves; for when a negro is once bought, he is the purchaser's servant as long as he lives, unless he gives him to another, or sets him free. However, it is not in the power of the master to kill his negro for a fault, but he must leave it to the magistrates to proceed according to the laws. Formerly the negroes were brought over from Africa, and bought by almost everyone who could afford it, the Quakers alone being an exception. But these are no longer so particular and now they have as many negroes as other people. However, many people cannot conquer the idea of its being contrary to the laws of Christianity to keep slaves. There are likewise several free negroes in town, who have been lucky enough to get a very zealous Quaker for their master, and who gave them their liberty after they had faithfully served him for a time.

Annexe 28, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 206, (source papier

It is likewise greatly to be pitied that the masters of these negroes in most of the English colonies take little care of their spiritual welfare, and let them live on in their pagan darkness. There are even some who would be very ill pleased [with negro enlightenment], and would in every way hinder their negroes from being instructed in the doctrines of Christianity. To this they are led partly by the conceit of its being shameful to have a spiritual brother or sister among so despicable a people; partly by thinking that they would not be able to keep their negroes so subjected afterwards; and partly through fear of the negroes growing too proud on seeing themselves upon a level with their masters in religious matters.

Annexe 29, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 209, (source papier

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found in them. But it happens otherwise, and there are very few trees three hundred years old. Most of them are only two hundred years and this convinced me that trees have the same quality as animals, and die after they have arrived at a certain age. We find great forests here, but when the trees in them have stood a hundred and fifty or a hundred and eighty years, they are either rotten within, or losing their crown. Sometimes their wood becomes so soft, or their roots are not longer able to draw in sufficient nourishment. Therefore when storms blow, the trees are broken off either just at the root or further up. Several trees are likewise torn out by their roots in the powerful winds. The storms thus cause great devastations in these forests. Everywhere you see trees felled by the winds, after they are too much weakened by one or the other of the above-mentioned causes. Fire, too, breaks out often in the woods and burns the trees half way through or more at the root so that they are easily broken off by the wind.

Windfalls. On travelling through these woods, I purposely tried to find out, by the position of the trees which had fallen down, which winds are the strongest hereabouts. But I could not conclude anything with certainty, for the trees fell on all sides and lay toward all the points of the compass. I therefore judged, that any wind which blows from that side where the roots of the tree are weakest and shortest, and where it can make the least resistance, must root it up and hurl it down. In this manner the old trees die continually and are succeeded by a younger generation. Those which are thrown down lie on the ground and putrify, sooner or later, and by that means increase the black soil [humus], into which the leaves are likewise finally changed. The leaves drop abundantly in autumn and are blown about by the winds for some time, but are finally heaped up, and lie on both sides of the trees, which have fallen down. It requires several years before a tree is entirely reduced to dust. When the winds tear up a tree by the roots, a quantity of loose soil commonly comes up with and sticks to them for a time, but at last it drops off and forms a little hillock, which is afterwards augmented by the leaves. In this way many holes and mounds are formed.

Some trees are more inclined to decay than others. The tupelo tree (*Nyssa*), the tulip tree (*Liriodendron*), and the sweet gum tree (*Liquidambar*), I learned became rotten in a short time. The hickory did not take much time, and the black oak fell to pieces sooner than

of living. At this time the people find accidentally, by plowing and digging in the ground, several of the instruments which the Indians employed, before the Swedes and other Europeans had provided them with iron tools. For it is observable that the Indians at present make use of no other tools than such as are made of iron and other metals, and which they always get from the Europeans. Of this I shall give more particulars at a later time. But having already had an opportunity of seeing and partly collecting a great many of the ancient Indian tools, I shall here describe some of them.

Indian tools and weapons. Their hatchets are commonly made of stone. Their shape is similar to that of the wedges with which we cleave our wood, about half a foot long, and narrow in proportion; they are made like a wedge, sharp at one end, but rather blunter than our wedges. As this hatchet must be fixed on a handle, there is a notch made all round the thick end. To fasten it, they split a stick at one end, and put the stone between it, so that the two halves of the stick come into the notches of the stone; then they tie the two split ends together with a rope or something like it, almost in the same way as smiths fasten the wedges with which they cut off iron to a split stick. Some of these stone-hatchets are not notched or furrowed at the upper end, and it seems they only hold those in their hands in order to hew or strike with them, and do not make handles for them. Most of the hatchets which I have seen consist of a hard rock-stone; but some are made of a fine, hard, black, apyrous stone. When the Indians intend to fell a thick strong tree, they cannot use their hatchets, but for want of proper instruments employ fire. They set fire to a great quantity of wood at the roots of the tree, and make it fall by that means. In order that the fire does not reach higher than they would have it, they fasten some rags to a pole, dip them into water, and keep continually washing the tree, a little above the fire. Whenever they intend to hollow out a thick tree for a canoe, they lay dry branches all along the felled trunk of the tree as far as it must be hollowed out. They then put fire to those dry branches, and as soon as they are burnt, they are replaced by others. While these branches are burning, the Indians are busy with wet rags, pouring water upon the tree to prevent the fire from spreading too far on the sides and at the ends. The tree being burnt hollow as far as they find it sufficient, or as far as it can be without damaging the canoe, they take the above described

Annexe 31, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 229, (source papier

MARCH THE 17TH

Indians. At the first arrival of the Swedes in this country, and long after that time, it was filled with Indians. But as the Europeans proceeded to cultivate the land, the Indians sold their land, and went further into the country. But in reality few of the Indians really left the country in this manner; most of them ended their days before, either by wars among themselves, or by the small-pox, a disease which the Indians were unacquainted with before their commerce with the Europeans, and which since that time has killed incredible numbers of them. For though they can heal wounds and other external hurts, yet they do not understand fever or other internal diseases. One can imagine how ill they would succeed with the cure of the small-pox when as soon as the pustules appeared they leaped naked into the cold of the rivers, lakes, or fountains, and either dived over head into it, or poured it over their body in great abundance in order to cool the heat of the fever. In the same manner they carried their children, when they had the small-pox, into the water and ducked them.¹ But brandy is said to have killed most

Annexe 32, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 258, (source papier

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NOVEMBER THE 14TH

... of the Indians. This liquor was, also, entirely unknown to them before the Europeans came hither, but after they had tasted it, they could never get enough of it. A man can hardly have a greater desire of a thing than the Indians have for brandy. I have heard them say that to die by drinking brandy was a desirable and an honorable death; and indeed it was a very common thing to kill themselves by drinking this liquor to excess. [...].

Annexe 33, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 259, (source papier

Religion among the Indians. As to their religion the old man thought it very trifling, and even believed that they had none at all. When they heard loud claps of thunder they said that the evil spirit was angry. Some of them said that they believed in a god, who lives in heaven. The old Swede once walked with an Indian, and they encountered a red-spotted snake on the road: the old man therefore went to seek a stick in order to kill it, but the Indian begged him not to touch it, because it was sacred to him. Perhaps the Swede would not have killed it, but on hearing that it was the Indian's deity, he took a stick and killed it, in the presence of the Indian, saying: "Because thou believest in it, I think myself obliged to kill it." Sometimes the Indians came into the Swedish churches, looked around, listened and went away again. One day as this old Swede was at church and did not sing, because he had no psalmbook, one of the Indians, who was well acquainted with him, tapped him on the shoulder, and said: "Why dost thou not sing with the others, Tantánta! Tantánta! Tantánta?" On another occasion, as a sermon was preached in the Swedish church at Raccoon, an Indian came in, looked about him, and after listening awhile to the preacher, he said: "Ugh! A lot of prattle and nonsense, but neither brandy nor cider!" and went out again. For it is to be observed that when an Indian makes a speech to his companions, in order to encourage them to war, or to anything else, they all drink immoderately on those occasions.

Annexe 34, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 270, (source papier

at Albany besides these I have mentioned.
Grains. They sow as much hemp and flax here as they want for home consumption. They sow corn in great abundance; a loose soil is reckoned the best for this purpose, for it will not thrive in clay. From half a bushel they reap a hundred bushels. They reckon corn a very suitable kind of crop, because the young plant recovers after being hurt by the frost. They have had instances here of the plants freezing off twice in the spring, close to the ground, and yet surviving and yielding an excellent crop. Corn has likewise the advantage of standing much longer against a drought than wheat. The larger sort of corn which is commonly sown here ripens in September.

Wheat is sown in the neighborhood of Albany to great advantage. From one bushel they get twelve sometimes; if the soil is good, they get twenty bushels. If their crop amounts only to a ten-fold yield, they think it a very mediocre one. The inhabitants of the country round Albany are Dutch and Germans. The Germans live in several great villages, and sow great quantities of wheat which is brought to Albany, whence they send many boats laden with flour to New York. The wheat flour from Albany is reckoned the best in all North America, except that from Sopus (Esopus) or King's Town (Kingston), a place between Albany and New York. All the bread in Albany is made of wheat. At New York they pay for the Albany flour with a few shillings more per hundred weight than for that from other places.

Rye is likewise sown here, but not so generally as wheat. They do not sow much barley, because they do not reckon the profits very great. Wheat is so plentiful that they make malt of that. In the neighborhood of New York, I saw great fields sown with barley. They do not sow more oats than are necessary for their horses.

Peas. The Dutch and Germans who live hereabouts sow peas in great abundance; they grow very well, and are annually carried to New York in great quantities. They were free from insects for a considerable time. But of late years the same pest which destroys the peas in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the lower parts of the province of New York,¹ has likewise appeared destructive among the

Annexe 35: KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 335, (source papier)

upon canoes tied together. Albany carries on a considerable commerce with New York, chiefly in furs, boards, wheat, flour, peas, several kinds of timber, etc. There is not a place in all the British colonies, the Hudson's Bay settlements excepted, where such quantities of furs and skins are bought of the Indians as at Albany. Most of the merchants in this town send a clerk or agent to Oswego, an English trading town on Lake Ontario, to which the Indians come with their furs. I intend to give a more minute account of this place in my Journal for the year 1750. The merchants from Albany spend the whole summer at Oswego, and trade with many tribes of Indians who come with their goods. Many people have assured me that the Indians are frequently cheated in disposing of their goods, especially when they are drunk, and that sometimes they do not get one half or

Annexe 36: KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 342, (source papier)

even one tenth of the value of their goods. I have been a witness to several transactions of this kind. The merchants of Albany glory in these tricks, and are highly pleased when they have given a poor Indian, a greater portion of brandy than he can stand, and when they can, after that, get all his goods for mere trifles. The Indians often find when they are sober again, that they have for once drunk as much as they are able of a liquor which they value beyond anything else in the whole world, and they are quite insensible to their loss if they again get a draught of this nectar. Besides this trade at Oswego, a number of Indians come to Albany from several places especially from Canada; but from this latter place, they hardly bring anything but beaver skins. There is a great penalty in Canada for carrying furs to the English, that trade belonging to the French West India Company. Notwithstanding that the French merchants in Canada carry on a considerable smuggling trade. They send their furs by means of the Indians to their agent at Albany, who purchases them at the price which they have fixed upon with the French merchants. The Indians take in return several kinds of cloth, and other goods, which may be bought here at a lower rate than those which are sent to Canada from France.

Annexe 36 bis: KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 343, (source papier)

A Conference with the Indians. The governor of New York often confers at Albany with the Indians of the Five Nations, or the Iroquois, (Mohawks, Senekas, Cayugaws, Onondagoes, and Oneidas), especially when they intend either to make war upon, or to continue a war against the French. Sometimes, also, their deliberations turn upon their conversion to the Christian religion, and it appears by the answer of one of the Indian chiefs or sachems to Governor Hunter,¹ at a conference in this town, that the English do not pay so much attention to a work of so much consequence as the French do, and that they do not send such able men to instruct the Indians, as they ought to do.² For after Governor Hunter had presented these In-

Annexe 37, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 347, (source papier)

dians, by order of Queen Anne, with many clothes and other presents, of which they were fond, he intended to convince them still more of her Majesty's good-will and care for them, by adding *that their good mother, the Queen, had not only generously provided them with fine clothes for their bodies, but likewise intended to adorn their souls by the preaching of the gospel; and that to this purpose some ministers should be sent to them to instruct them.* The governor had scarce ended, when one of the oldest sachems got up and answered *that in the name of all the Indians, he thanked their gracious good queen and mother for the fine clothes she had sent them; but that in regard to the ministers, they had already had some among them, (who he likewise named) who instead of preaching the holy gospel to them had taught them to drink to excess, to cheat, and to quarrel among themselves because in order to get furs they had brought brandy along with which they filled the Indians and deceived them.* He then entreated the governor to take from them these preachers, and a number of other Europeans who resided amongst them, for, before they came among them the Indians had been an honest, sober, and innocent people, but now most of them had become rogues. He pointed out that they formerly had the fear of God, but that they hardly believed his existence at present; that if he (the governor) would do them any favor, he should send two or three blacksmiths amongst them, to teach them to forge iron, in which they were inexperienced. The governor could not forbear laughing at this extraordinary speech. I think the words of St. Paul not wholly unapplicable on this occasion: For your sake the name of God is blasphemed amongst the heathens (Gentiles).¹

Annexe 38, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 348, (source papier)

PETER KALM'S TRAVELS

Beavers. Beavers are abundant all over North America and they are one of the chief articles of trade in Canada. The Indian live upon their flesh during a great part of the year. It is certain that these animals multiply very fast; but it is also true that vast numbers of them are annually killed and that the Indians are obliged at present to undertake distant journeys in order to catch or shoot them. Their decreasing in number is very easily accounted for, because the Indians, before the arrival of the Europeans, only caught as many as they found necessary to clothe themselves with, there being then no trade with the skins. At present a number of ships go annually to Europe, laden chiefly with beavers' skins; the English and French endeavor to outdo each other by paying the Indians well for them, and this encourages the latter to extirpate these animals. All the people in Canada told me that when they were young all the rivers in the neighborhood of Montreal, the St. Lawrence River not excepted, were full of beavers and their dams; but at present they are so far destroyed that one is obliged to go several miles up the country before one can meet one. I have already remarked above that the beaver skins from the north are better than those from the south.

The Beaver a "Fish". Beaver meat is eaten not only by the Indians but likewise by the Europeans, and especially by the French, on their fasting days; for his Holiness the Pope has, like many of the old zoologists, classified the beaver among the fishes, since he spends most of his time in water. The meat is reckoned best if the beaver has lived upon vegetables, such as the aspen and the beaver tree (*Magnolia glauca* L.) ; but when he has eaten fish, it does not taste so well. To-day I tasted his meat boiled for the first time; and though everybody present besides myself thought it a delicious dish, yet I could not agree with them. I think it is eatable, but has nothing delicious about it. It looks black when boiled and has a peculiar taste. In order to prepare it well it must be boiled from morning till noon that it may lose the strange taste which it has. The tail is likewise eaten, after it has been boiled in the same manner and roasted afterwards; but it consists of fat only, though they would not call it so, and cannot be swallowed by one who is not used to eating it.

Annexes 39, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 354, (source papier)

We frequently saw squirrels and black squirrels in the woods.

A little distance from Saratoga, we met two Indians in their boats of bark, which could scarce contain more than one person.

Near Saratoga the river became shallow and rapid again. The ground had here been turned into grain fields and meadows, but on account of the war it lay waste.

Saratoga was a fort built of wood by the English to stop the attacks of the French Indians upon the English inhabitants in these parts, and to serve as a rampart to Albany. It was situated on a hill, on the west side of the Hudson River, and was built of thick posts driven into the ground, close to each other, in the manner of palisades, forming a square, the length of whose sides was within the reach of a musketshot. At each corner were the houses of the officers, and within the palisades the barracks, all of timber. This fort had been kept in order and was garrisoned till the last war, when the English themselves in 1747 set fire to it, not being able to defend themselves in it against the attacks of the French and their Indians; for as soon as a party of them went out of the fort, some of these enemies lay concealed and either took them all prisoners or shot them.

I shall only mention one out of many artful tricks which were played here, and which both the English and French who were present here at that time told me repeatedly: a party of French with their Indians, concealed themselves one night in a thicket near the fort. In the morning some of their Indians, as they had previously resolved, went to have a nearer view of the fort. The English fired upon them as soon as they saw them at a distance. The Indians pretended to be wounded, fell down, got up again, ran a little way, and dropped again. Above half the garrison rushed out to take them prisoners, but as soon as they had come up with them, the French and the remaining Indians came out of the bushes between the fortress and the English, surrounded them and took them prisoners. Those who remained in the fort had hardly time to shut the gates, nor could they fire upon the enemy, because they equally exposed their countrymen to danger, and they were vexed to see their enemies take and carry them off in their sight and under their cannon. Such French artifices as these made the English weary of their ill-planned fort. We saw some of the palisades still in the ground. There was an island in the river, near Saratoga, much better situated for a fortification. The country is flat on both sides of the river near Saratoga and its

Annexes 40, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 358, (source papier)

The fort is built in the same manner as the forts Saratoga and Nicholson, that is to say, of palisades, within which the soldiers were quartered, and at the corner of which were blockhouses providing lodgings for the officers. The whole consisted of wood, because it was erected only with a view for protection against wandering marauders. It is built on a little rising ground which runs obliquely to the river. The country round about it is partly flat, partly hilly, and partly marshy, but it consists merely of earth, and not a stone could be found there even if you would pay for it. General Nicholson built this fort in the year 1709; but at the conclusion of the war against the French it shared the fate of Saratoga and Fort Nicholson, being in 1711 burnt by the English themselves. The facts were these: in 1711 the English resolved to attack Canada, by land and by sea, at the same time. A powerful English fleet sailed up the St. Lawrence to besiege Quebec, and General Nicholson, who was the greatest promoter of this expedition, lead a large army to this place by land, to attack Montreal simultaneously; but a great part of the English fleet was shipwrecked in the St. Lawrence, and obliged to return to New England. The news of this misfortune was immediately communicated to General Nicholson, who was advised to retreat. Captain [Walter] Butler, who commanded Fort Mohawk during my stay in America, told me that he had been at Fort Anne in 1711 and that General Nicholson was about to leave it and go down the river Woodcreek in boats ready for that purpose, when he received the accounts of the disaster which had befallen the fleet. He was so enraged that he endeavored to tear his wig, but it being too strong for him he flung it to the ground and trampled on it, crying out, "Roguery, treachery!" He then set fire to the fort and returned. We saw the remains of the burnt palisades in the ground, and I asked my guides why the English had gone to such great expenses in erecting the fort, and why they had afterwards burnt it without any previous consideration? They replied that it was done to have another opportunity to extract money from the government; for the

Annexes 41, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 366, (source papier)

How Kalm Escaped Death. Towards night we met a French sergeant, and five French soldiers, who had been sent by the commander of Fort St. Frédéric, to accompany three Englishmen to Saratoga, and to defend them in case of necessity against six French Indians who had gone to be revenged on the English for killing the brother of one of them in the last war. The peace had already been concluded at that time, but as it had not yet been proclaimed in Canada the Indians thought they could take this step; therefore they

Annexes 42, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 368, (source papier)

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silently got away, contrary to the order of the Governor of Montreal, and proceeded towards the English plantations. We here had occasion to perceive the care of Providence for us, in escaping these savage barbarians. We had found the grass trod down all the day long, but had had no thoughts of danger, as we believed that everything was quiet and peaceable. We were afterwards informed, that these Indians had trod the grass down, and passed the last night in the place where we found the burning brands in the morning. The usual route which they were to have taken was by Fort Anne, but to shorten their journey they had gone an unfrequented path. If they had gone on towards Fort Anne, they would have met us without doubt, and looking upon us all as Englishmen, for whose blood they were thirsting, they could easily have surprised and shot us all, and by that means have been rid of the trouble of going any further to satisfy their cruelty. We were not a little agitated when the Frenchmen told us how near death we had been to-day. We passed the night here, and though the French repeatedly advised and desired me not to venture any further with my English company, but to follow them to the first English settlement, and then back to Fort St. Frédéric, yet I resolved, with the protection of the Almighty, to continue my journey the next day.

Annexes 42 bis, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 369, (source papier)

JULY THE 5TH

Indian Revenge. While we were at dinner we heard several times a repeated, disagreeable, bloodcurdling outcry, some distance from the fort, in the river Woodcreek: Mr. Lusignan,¹ the commander, told us this cry was ominous, because he could conclude from it that the Indians, whom we escaped near Fort Anne, had completed their design of avenging the death of one of their brethren upon the English, and that their shouts showed that they had killed an Englishman. As soon as I came to the window, I saw their boat, with a long pole at the front, at the extremity of which they had put a bloody human scalp. As soon as they had landed, we heard that they, being six in number, had continued their journey (from the place where we saw marks of their passing the night) till they had gotten within the English boundaries, where they found a man and his son employed in harvesting. They crept on towards this man and shot him dead. This happened near the very village where the English, two years before, killed the brother of one of these Indians, who had then gone out to attack them. According to their custom they cut off the scalp of the dead man and took it with them, together with his clothes and his son, who was about nine years old. As soon as they came within a mile of Fort St. Frédéric, they put the scalp on a pole in the fore part of the boat, and shouted as a sign of their success. They were dressed in shirts, as usual, but some of them had put on the dead man's

¹ Paul-Louis Lusignan (1691; d. sometime after 1752), French army officer, had been promoted to a captaincy in 1744. He was, as Kalm asserts, at this time commander of Fort Saint-Frédéric.

Annexes 43, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 377, (source papier)

A Soldier's Rations. The soldiery enjoy such advantages here as they are not allowed in any part of the world. Those who formed the garrison of this place had a very plentiful allowance from their government. They get every day a pound and a half of wheat bread, which is almost more than they can eat. They likewise get plenty of peas, bacon, and salt or dried meat. Sometimes they kill oxen and other cattle, the flesh of which is distributed among the soldiers. All the officers kept cows, at the expense of the king, and the milk they gave was more than sufficient to supply them. The soldiers had each a small garden outside the fort, which they were allowed to attend and to plant in it whatever they liked. Some of them had built summerhouses in them and planted all kinds of vegetables. The governor told me that it was a general custom to allow the soldiers a plot of ground for kitchen gardens, at such of the French forts hereabouts as were not situated near great towns, from whence they could be supplied. In time of peace the soldiers have very little guard duty when at the fort; and as the lake close by was full of fish, and the woods abounded with birds and animals, those amongst them who chose to be diligent could live extremely well and like a lord in regard to food. Each soldier got a new coat every two years; but annually, a waistcoat, cap, hat, breeches, cravat, two pair of stockings, two pair of shoes, and as much wood as he had occasion for in

¹ Kalm forgets that in this case the shape of the boat makes it more suitable for paddling.

Annexes 44, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 381, (source papier)

winter. They likewise got five *sols*¹ apiece every day, which is augmented to thirty *sols* when they have any particular labor for the king. When this is considered it is not surprising to find the men are very healthy, well fed, strong and lively here. When a soldier falls sick he is brought to the hospital, where the king provides him with a bed, food, medicine, and people to take care of and serve him. When some of them asked leave to be absent for a day or two to go away it was generally granted them if circumstances would permit, and they enjoyed as usual their share of provisions and money, but were obliged to get some of their comrades to mount guard for them as often as it came to their turns, for which they gave them an equivalent. The governor and officers were duly honored by the soldiers; however, the soldiers and officers often spoke together as comrades, without any ceremonies, and with a very becoming freedom. The soldiers who are sent hither from France commonly serve till they are forty or fifty years old, after which they are honorably discharged and allowed to settle upon and cultivate a piece of ground. But if they have agreed on their arrival to serve no longer than a certain number of years, they are dismissed at the expiration of their term. Those who are born here commonly agree to serve the crown during six, eight, or ten years, after which they are [honorably] discharged and settle down as farmers in the country. The king presents each discharged soldier with a piece of land, being commonly 40 arpents² long and but three broad, if the soil be of equal goodness throughout; but they get somewhat more, if it be poorer. As soon as a soldier settles to cultivate such a piece of land, he is at first assisted by the king, who supplies him, his wife and children with provisions during the first three or four years. The king likewise gives him a cow and the most necessary instruments for agriculture. Some soldiers are sent to assist him in building a house, for which the king pays them. These are of great help to a poor man who begins to keep house, and it seems that in a country where the troops are so highly distinguished by royal favor, the king cannot be at a loss for soldiers. For the better cultivation and popu-

¹ See *infra*, p. 399, note.

² The value of the *arpent* varied with the locality. According to Kalm, as given in the original, there were 84 arpents in a French *lieue* or mile. The latter is 4444 1/2 meters, which makes an *arpent* about 175 feet. To-day the Canadian *arpent* is supposed to be 12 rods or 198 feet. The *arpent* of Kalm's day was probably somewhere between the two.

Annexes 45, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 382, (source papier)

Indians. We often saw Indians in bark boats, close to the shore, which was, however, not inhabited, for the Indians came here only to catch sturgeons, wherewith this lake abounds, and which we often saw leaping up into the air. These Indians lead a very singular life. At one time of the year they live on the small store of corn, beans, and melons, which they have planted; during another period, or about this time, their food is fish, without bread or any other meat; and another season they eat nothing but game, such as stags, roes, beavers, etc., which they shoot in the woods and rivers. They, however, enjoy long life, perfect health, and are more able to undergo hardships than other people. They sing and dance, are joyful, and always content, and would not for a great deal exchange their manner of life for that which is preferred in Europe.

When we were yet ten French miles from Fort Saint Jean, we saw some houses on the western side of the lake, in which the French had lived before the last war, and which they then aban-

Annexes 46, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 394, (source papier)

doned, as it was by no means safe. They now returned to them again. These were the first houses and settlements which we saw after we had left those about Fort St. Frédéric.

An Old Fort. There formerly was a wooden fort or redoubt on the eastern side of the lake, near the waterside, and the place where it stood was shown to me; at present it is quite overgrown with trees. The French built it to prevent the incursions of the Indians over this lake, and I was assured that many Frenchmen had been slain in these places. At the same time the Canadians told me that they numbered four women to one man in Canada, because annually several Frenchmen were killed on their expeditions which they undertook for the sake of trading with the Indians.

A *windmill*, built of stone, stood on the east side of the lake on a projecting piece of ground. Some Frenchmen lived near it; but they left it when the war broke out, and have not yet come back to it. From this mill to Fort Saint Jean they considered it eight French miles. The English, with their Indians, had burnt the houses here several times, but the mill remained unhurt.

Annexes 47: KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 395, (source papier)

JULY THE 24TH

At Montreal. This morning I went from Prairie in a bateau to Montreal on the St. Lawrence River. The river is very rapid, but not very deep near Prairie, so that the boats cannot go higher than Montreal, except in spring with the high water, when they can come up to Prairie, but not further. The town of Montreal may be seen at Prairie and all the way down to it. On our arrival there we found a crowd of people at the gate of the town where we were to pass through. They were very desirous of seeing us, because they were informed that some Swedes were to come to town, people of whom they had heard something, but whom they had never seen; and we were assured by everybody, that we were the first Swedes that ever had come to Montreal. As soon as we had landed, the governor of the town sent a captain to me, who desired that I would follow him to the governor's house, where he introduced me to him in a room where the governor was with some friends. Baron Longueuil was as yet vice-governor, but he daily expected his promotion from France. He received me more civilly and generously than I can well describe, and showed me letters from the governor-general at Quebec, the Marquis de la Galissonnière, who mentioned that he had received orders from the French court to supply me with whatever I should want, as I was to travel in this country at the expense of his most Christian majesty. In short Governor Longueuil loaded me with greater favors than I could expect or even imagine, both during that stay and on my return from Quebec.

Annexes 48, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 402, (source papier)

JULY THE 27TH

The *common houseflies* (*Musca domestica*) were observed in this country about one hundred and fifty years ago, as I have been assured by several persons in this town, and in Quebec. All the Indians assert the same thing, and are of the opinion that the common flies first came over here with the Europeans and their ships which were stranded on this coast. I shall not dispute this; however, I know, that while I was on the frontier between Saratoga and Crown Point, or Fort St. Frédéric, and sat down to rest or to eat, a number of our common flies always came and settled on me. It is therefore dubious whether they have not been longer in America than the term above-mentioned, or whether they have been imported from Europe. On the other hand, it may be urged that the flies were left in that wilderness at the time when Fort Anne was yet in a good condition, and when the English often travelled there and back again; not to mention that several Europeans, both before and after that time, had travelled through those places and carried the flies with them, which had been attracted by their provisions.

Wild cattle were abundant in the southern parts of Canada, and have been there since times immemorial. They were particularly plentiful in those parts where the Illinois Indians lived, which were nearly in the same latitude with Philadelphia; but further to the north they are seldom observed. I saw the skin of a wild ox to-day; it was as big as one of the largest ox hides in Europe, but had better hair. This was dark brown like that on a brown bearskin. That which was close to the skin is as soft as wool. This hide was not very thick and in general was not considered so valuable (in France) as a bearskin. In winter it is spread on the floor to keep the feet warm. Some of these wild cattle, as I am told, have a long and fine wool, as good if not better than sheep wool. They make stockings, cloth, gloves, and other pieces of worsted work of it, which look as well as if they were made of the best sheep wool.

Annexes 49, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 405, (source papier)

The Indians employ it for several uses. The flesh is as good and fat as the best beef. Sometimes the hides are thick, and may be used as cowhides are in Europe. The wild cattle in general are said to be stronger and bigger than European cattle, and of a brownish red color. Their horns are short, though very thick close to the head. These and several other qualities, which they have in common with and in greater perfection than the domestic cattle, have induced some to endeavor to tame them, by which means they would obtain the advantages arising from their good hair, and, on account of their great strength, could employ them successfully in agriculture. With this view some have repeatedly gotten young wild calves and brought them up in Quebec and other places among the tame cattle, but they have usually died in three or four years time; and though they have seen people every day, they have always retained a natural ferocity. They have constantly been very shy, pricked up their ears at the sight of a man, and have trembled or run about, so that the art of taming them has not hitherto been successful. Some have been of the opinion that these cattle cannot bear the cold well, as they never go north of the place I mentioned, though the summers be very hot, even in those northern parts. They think that when the country about the Illinois is better peopled it will be more easy to tame these cattle, and that afterwards they may more easily be accustomed to the northerly climates.¹ The Indians and French in Canada, make use of the horns of these creatures to put gunpowder in. I have briefly mentioned the wild cattle in the former parts of this journey.²

The peace, which was concluded between France and England, was proclaimed to-day.³ The soldiers were under arms, the artillery on the walls was fired off, and some salutes were given by the small firearms. All night fireworks were exhibited, and the whole town was illuminated. All the streets were crowded with people till late at night. The governor invited me to supper and to partake of the joy of the inhabitants. There were present a number of officers

¹ But by this means they would lose that superiority, which in their wild state they have over the tame cattle; as all the progenies of tamed animals degenerate from the excellence of their wild and free ancestors.—F.

² See pp. 110 and 150.

³ The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle of October 18, 1748, ending King George's War.

Annexes 50, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 406, (source papier)

Annexe 51

PETER KALM'S TRAVELS

[...] *Trois Rivières* is a little market town which had the appearance of a large village. It is, however, numbered among the three great towns of Canada, which are Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivières. It is said to lie in the middle between the two first, and is thirty French miles distant from each. The town is built on the north side of the St. Lawrence River on a flat, elevated sandbar and its location is very pleasant. (...). This town formerly flourished more than any other in Canada, for the Indians brought their goods to it from all sides; but since that time they have gone to Montreal and Quebec, and to the English, on account of their wars with the Iroquois, or Five Nations, and for several other reasons, so that this town is at present very much reduced by it. Its present inhabitants live chiefly by agriculture, though the neighboring ironworks may serve in some measure to support them. About an English mile below the town a great river flows into the St. Lawrence River, but first divides into three branches, so that it appears as if three rivers emptied themselves there. This has given occasion to call the river and this town, Trois Rivières (the Three Rivers). [...].

Annexes 51, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 419, (source papier)

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[...] Fish Traps. They have a very particular method of catching fish near the shore here. They place hedges along the shore, made of twisted oziars, so close that no fish can get through them and from one foot to a yard high, according to the different depth of the water. For this purpose they choose places where the water runs off during the ebb, and leaves the hedges quite dry. [...]

Annexes 52, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 423, (source papier)

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walls, are large pieces of land without any buildings on them, and destined to be built upon in future time when the number of inhabitants will have increased in Quebec.

The bishop whose see is in the city is the only bishop in Canada. His diocese extends to Louisiana on the Mexican Gulf in the south and to the South Sea on the west.

No bishop, the pope excepted, ever had a more extensive diocese. But his spiritual flock is very small some distance from Quebec, and his sheep are often many hundred miles distant from each other.

Quebec as a Seaport. Quebec is the only seaport and trading town in all Canada, and from there all the produce of the country is exported. The port is below the town on the river, which is there about a quarter of a French mile broad, twenty-five fathoms deep, and its bottom is very good for anchoring. The ships are secured from all storms in this port; however, the northeast wind is the worst, because the town is more exposed in a storm from this direction. When I arrived here I counted thirteen large and small vessels, but in the evening before I left Quebec I counted twenty-three, and they expected more to come in. But it is to be remarked that no other ships than French ones can come into the port, though they may come from any place in France, or even from the French possessions in the West Indies. All foreign goods which are found in Montreal and other parts of Canada must first come from here. Similarly the French merchants from Montreal, after having spent six months among various Indian nations in order to purchase skins of beasts and furs, return about the end of August and go down to Quebec in September or October to sell their goods. The privilege of selling the imported goods should have vastly enriched the merchants of Quebec; but this is contradicted by others, who allow that there are a few in affluent circumstances, but that the majority possess no more than is absolutely necessary for their bare subsistence, and that several are very much in debt, which they say is owing to their luxury and vanity and to the fact that no one wanted to be poorer than the other. The merchants dress very finely, are extravagant in their repasts, and their ladies are every day in full dress and as much adorned as if they were to go to court.

The town is surrounded on almost all sides by a high wall, and especially towards the land. It was not quite completed when I was

Annexes 53. KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 431, (source papier)

are still several other rooms and halls here, the use of which I do not remember. The lowest story contains a kitchen, bake house, several butteries, etc. In the garrets they keep their grain and dry their linen. In the middle story is a balcony on the outside, almost round the whole building, where the nuns are allowed to take the air. The view from the convent is very fine on every side. The river, the fields and the meadows beyond the town appear there to great advantage. On one side of the convent is a large garden, in which the nuns are at liberty to walk about. It belongs to the convent, and is surrounded with a high wall. There is a quantity of all sorts of vegetables in it and a number of apple, cherry and white walnut trees and red currant bushes. This convent, they say, contains about fifty nuns, most of them advanced in years, scarcely any being under forty years of age. At this time there were two young ladies among them who were being instructed in those things which belong to the knowledge of nuns. They are not allowed to become nuns immediately after their entrance, but must pass through a noviciate of two or three years in order to learn whether they will be constant. For during that time it is in their power to leave the convent, if a monastic life does not suit their inclinations. But as soon as they are received among the nuns and have taken their vows, they are obliged to continue their whole life in it. If they appear willing to change their mode of life, they are locked up in a room from which they can never get out. The nuns of this convent never go further from it than to the hospital, which lies near it and even constitutes a part of it. They go there to attend the sick and to take care of them. Upon my leaving, the abbess asked me if I was satisfied with their institution, whereupon I told them that their convent was beautiful enough, though their mode of living was much circumscribed. Thereupon she told me that she and her sisters would heartily ask God to make me a good Roman Catholic. I answered her that I was far more anxious to be and remain a good Christian, and that as a recompense for their honors and prayers I would not fail earnestly to ask God that they too might remain good Christians, because that would be the highest degree of a true religion that a mortal could find. Thereupon she smilingly bade me farewell. I was told by several people here, some of which were ladies, that none of the nuns went into a convent till she had attained an age in which she had small hopes of ever getting a husband. The nuns of all the three

Annexes 54, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 445, (source papier)

Clergymen in Canada. Besides the bishop there are three kinds of clergymen in Canada; *viz.* Jesuits, priests and recolets. The Jesuits are without doubt the most important; therefore they commonly say here, by way of proverb, that a hatchet is sufficient to cut out a recolet; a priest can be made with a pair of scissors, but a Jesuit requires a paint-brush¹ to show how much he surpasses the others. The Jesuits are usually very learned, studious and civil and agreeable in company. In their whole deportment there is something pleasing. It is no wonder therefore that they captivate the minds of people. They seldom speak of religious matters, and if it happens they generally avoid disputes. They are very ready to do anyone a service, and when they see that their assistance is wanted they hardly give one time to speak of it, falling to work immediately to bring about what is required of them. Their conversation is very entertaining and learned, so that one cannot be tired of their company. Among all the Jesuits I have conversed with in Canada, I have not found one who was not possessed of these qualities in a very eminent degree.

¹ Pour faire un recolet il faut une hachette, pour un prêtre un ciseau, mais pour un Jésuite il faut un pinceau.—F.

Annexes 55, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 449, (source papier)

They have large possessions in this country which the French king gave them. At Montreal they have likewise a fine church and a neat little house with a small but pretty garden next to it. They do not care to become pastors of a congregation in the town or country; but leave their places, together with the emoluments arising from them, to the priests. All their business here is to convert the heathens; and with that view their missionaries are scattered over every part of this country. Near every town and village peopled by converted Indians are one or two Jesuits, who take great care that they may not return to paganism but live as Christians ought to do. Thus there are Jesuits with the converted Indians in Tadoussac, Lorette, Becancourt, St. François, Sault St. Louis, and all over Canada. There are likewise Jesuit missionaries with those who are not converted; so that there is commonly a Jesuit in every large village belonging to the Indians, whom he endeavors on all occasions to convert. In winter he goes on their great hunts where he is frequently obliged to suffer all imaginable inconveniences such as walking in the snow all day, lying in the open air all winter, being out both in good and bad weather, the Indians not fearing any kind of weather, and lying in the Indian huts, which often swarm with fleas and other vermin, etc. The Jesuits undergo all these hardships both for the sake of converting the Indians and also for political reasons. The Jesuits are of great use to their king, for they are frequently able to persuade the Indians to break their treaty with the English, to make war upon them, to bring their furs to the French and not to permit the English to come amongst them. But there is some danger attending these attempts, for when the Indians are drunk they sometimes kill the missionaries who live with them, calling them spies, or excusing themselves by saying that the brandy had killed them. These are accordingly the chief occupations of the Jesuits here. They do not go to visit the sick in the town, they do not hear confessions, and attend no funerals. I have never seen them go in processions in remembrance of the Virgin Mary and other saints. They seldom go into a house in order to get food, and if they are invited they do not like to stay except they be on a journey. Everybody sees that they are, as it were, selected from the people on account of their superior genius and qualities. They are here held a most cunning set of people, who generally succeed in their undertakings and surpass all others in acute-

Annexes 56, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 450, (source papier)

AUGUST THE 12TH

Mixed Blood. This afternoon I and my servant went out of town, to stay in the country for a couple of days that I might have more leisure to examine the plants which grow in the woods here, and the nature of the country. In order to proceed the better, the governor-general had sent for an Indian from Lorette to show us the way and teach us what use they make of the wild plants hereabouts. This Indian was an Englishman by birth, taken by the Indians thirty years ago when he was a boy and adopted by them according to their custom in the place of a relation of theirs killed by the enemy. Since that time he had constantly stayed with them, become a Roman Catholic and married an Indian woman. He dressed like an Indian, spoke English and French and many of the Indian dialects. In the wars between the French and English in this country, the French Indians made many prisoners of both sexes in the English plantations, adopted them afterwards, and married them to people of the Indian nations. Hence the Indian

Annexes 57, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 456, (source papier)

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blood in Canada is very much mixed with European blood, and a large number of the Indians now living owe their origin to Europe. It is also remarkable that a great number of the people they had taken during the war and incorporated with their nations, especially the young people, did not choose to return to their native country, though their parents and nearest relations came to them and endeavored to persuade them to, and though it was in their power to do so. The free life led by the Indians pleased them better than that of their European relations; they dressed like the Indians and regulated all their affairs in their way. It is therefore difficult to distinguish them, except by their color, which is somewhat whiter than that of the Indians. There are likewise examples of some Frenchmen going amongst the Indians and following their mode of life. There is on the contrary scarcely one instance of an Indian adopting the European customs; for those who were taken prisoners in the war always endeavored to return to their own people again, even after several years of captivity, though they enjoyed all the privileges that were ever possessed by the Europeans in America.

Annexes 57 bis, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 457, (source papier)

Annexe 58

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(...) *Grass and Meadows*. The high meadows in Canada are excellent and by far preferable to the meadows round Philadelphia and in the other English colonies. The further I advanced northward here the finer were the meadows, and the turf upon them was better and closer. Almost all the grass here is of two kinds, viz. A species of the narrow leaved meadow grass (*Poa angustifolia* L.), its spikes containing either three or four flowers which are so exceedingly small that the plant might easily be taken for a bent grass (*Agrostis* L.), and its seeds have several small downy hairs at the bottom. The other plant, which grows in the meadows, is the white clover.¹ These two plants form the hay in the meadows. They stand close and thick together, and the meadow grass (*Poa*) is pretty tall, but has very thin stalks. At the root of the meadow grass the ground is covered with white clover, so that one cannot wish for finer meadows than are found here almost all have been formerly tilled fields, as appears from the furrows on the ground which still remain. They can be mown but once every summer, as spring commences very late. *Haymaking*. Farmers were now busy making hay and getting it in and I was told they had begun about a week ago. The scythes are like our Swedish ones; the men now and the women rake. The hay was prepared in much the same way as with us, but the tools are a little different. The head of the rake is smaller, has tines on both sides and is a little heavier. The hay is raked into rows; and they also use a kind of wooden fork for both pitching and raking. In so doing, however, a good deal of the hay is left on the field [...].

Annexes 58, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 458, (source papier)

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(...) since this does not rake as clean as an ordinary rake. There were no hillocks on these meadows. The hay is taken away in four wheeled carts drawn by either horses or oxen. The oxen are hitched in such a way as to pull with their horns instead of their shoulders. Some of the hay barns were out of the fields. They have haystacks near most of their meadows, and on the wet ones they make use of conic haystacks. Their grass lots are usually without fences, the cattle being in the pastures on the other side of the woods and cowherds take care of them where they are necessary.

The *grain fields* are pretty large. I saw no ditches anywhere, though they seemed to be needed in some places. They are divided into ridges, of the breadth of two or three yards broad, between the shallow furrows. The perpendicular height of the middle of the ridge, from the level to the ground is near one foot. All the grain is summer sown, for as the cold in winter destroys the grain which lies in the ground, it is never sown in autumn. I found white wheat most common in the fields. There are likewise large fields with peats, oats, in some places summer rye, and now and then barley. Near almost every farm I found cabbages, pumpkins, and melons. The fields are not always sown, but lie fallow every two years. The fallow fields not being plowed in summer the weeds grow without restraint in them and the cattle are allowed to roam over them all season.

There was a superabundance of fences around here, since every farm was isolated and the fields divided into small pastures. It will be difficult to obtain material for these fences when the woods are usep up; in the future they will probably have to use hedges for their enclosures. It is a stroke of good fortune though, that there is a large amount of cockspur hawthorn growing in the neighborhood. Happy they who will think of it in time! (Here follows a description of a palisade type of fences which it seems unnecessary to reproduce). (...)

Annexes 59 KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 459, (source papier)

AUGUST THE 14TH

Lorette is a village, three French miles to the west of Quebec, inhabited chiefly by Indians of the Huron nation converted to the Roman Catholic religion. The village lies near a little river which tumbles over a rock there with a great noise and turns a sawmill and a flourmill. When the Jesuits who are now with them, arrived among them, they lived in their usual huts, which are made like those of the Laplanders. They have since laid aside this custom and built all their houses after the French fashion. In each house are two rooms, *viz.* their bedroom and the kitchen. In one room is a small oven of stone, covered on top with an iron plate. Their beds are near the wall, and they put no other clothes on them than those which they are dressed in. Their other furniture and utensils look equally wretched. There is a fine little church here, with a steeple and a bell. The steeple is raised pretty high and covered with white tin plates. They pretend that there is some similarity between this church in its shape and plan and the Santa Casa at Loretto in Italy, whence this village has gotten its name. Close to the church is a house built of stone for the clergymen, two Jesuits, who constantly live here. The divine service is as regularly attended here as in any other Roman Catholic church, and it is a pleasure to hear the vocal skill and pleasant voices of the Indians, especially of the women, when singing all sorts of hymns in their own language. The Indians dress chiefly like the other adjacent Indian nations; the men, however, like to wear waistcoats, or jackets, like the French. The women keep exactly to the Indian dress. It is certain that these Indians and their ancestors long ago, on being converted to the Christian religion, made a vow to God never to drink strong liquors. This vow they have kept pretty inviolable hitherto,

Annexes 60 KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 462, (source papier)

The Indians of Lorette. These Indians have made the French their patterns in several things besides the houses. They all plant corn; and some have small fields of wheat and rye. Some of them keep cows. They plant our common sun-flower (*Helianthus annuus*), in their corn fields and mix the seeds of it into their sagamite or corn soup. The corn which they plant here is of the small sort, which ripens sooner than the other. Its kernels are smaller but give more and better flour in proportion. It commonly ripens here at the middle, sometimes however at the end, of August. The mills belong to the Jesuits who get paid for everything they grind.

The Swedish winter wheat and winter rye has been tried in Canada, to see how well it would succeed; for Canadians employ nothing but spring wheat or rye, since it has been found that French wheat and rye die here in winter, if it be sown in autumn. Dr. Sarrazin¹ therefore (as I was told by the eldest of the two Jesuits here) got a small quantity of winter wheat and rye from Sweden. It was sown in autumn, not hurt by the winter, and gave good results. The ears were not so large as those of the Canadian grain, but weighed nearly twice as much, and gave a greater quantity of finer flour, than the summer variety. Nobody could tell me why the experiments have not been continued. They cannot, I am told, bake such white bread here of the summer grain as they can in France of their winter wheat. Many people assured me that all the spring wheat now used here came from Sweden or Norway; for the French, on their arrival, found the winters in Canada too severe for the French winter seed, and their summer variety did not always ripen on account of the shortness of the summer. Therefore they began to look upon Canada as little better than a useless country where nobody could live, till they fell upon the idea of getting their spring grain from the most northern parts of Europe, which has succeeded very well.

To-day I returned to Quebec making botanical observations on

Annexes 60 bis KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 463, (source papier)

AUGUST THE 15TH

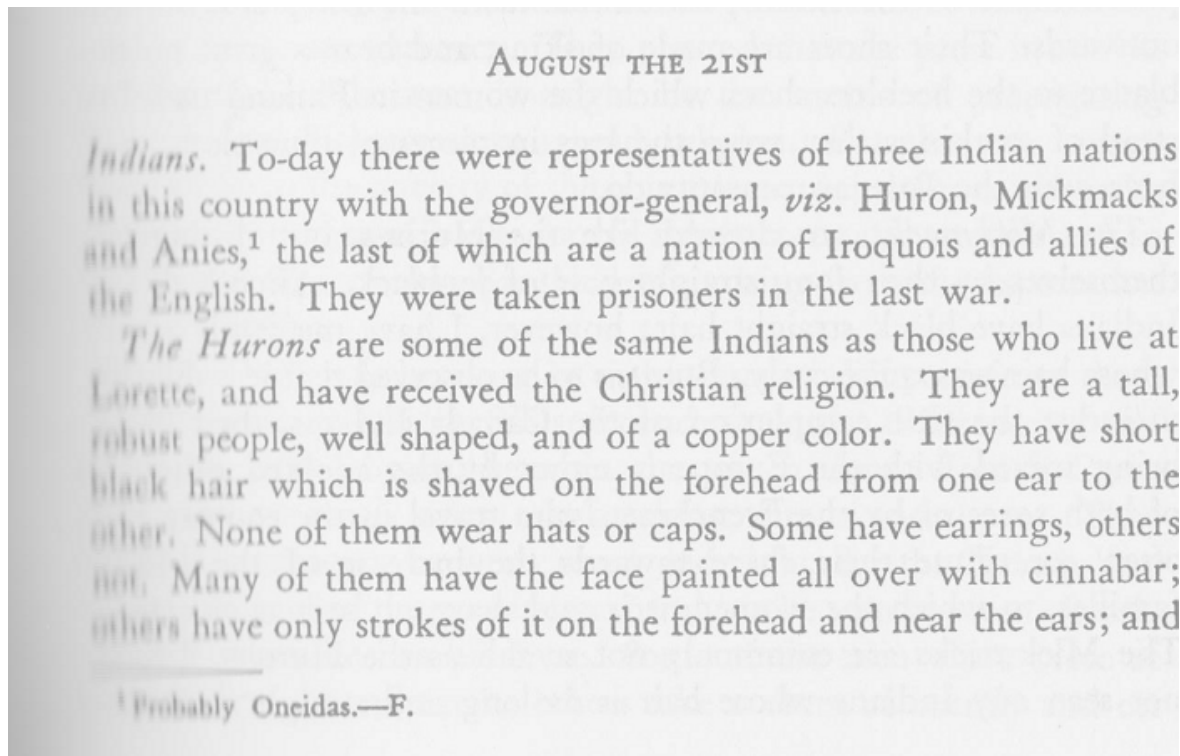
The New Governor Arrives. The new governor-general of all Canada, the Marquis de la Jonquière,¹ arrived last night in the river before Quebec; but it being late he reserved his public entrance for to-day. He had left France on the second of June, but could not reach Quebec before this time on account of the difficulty which great ships find in passing the sandbars in the St. Lawrence River. The ships cannot venture to go up without a fair wind, being forced to sail in many windings and frequently in a very narrow channel. To-day was another great feast on account of the Ascension of the Virgin Mary which is very highly celebrated in Roman Catholic countries. This day was accordingly doubly remarkable both on account of the holiday and of the arrival of the new governor-general, who is always received with great pomp, as he is really a viceroy here.

About eight o'clock the chief people in town assembled at the house of Mr. de Vaudreuil,² who had lately been nominated governor of Trois Rivières and lived in the lower town, and whose father had likewise been governor-general of Canada. Thither came likewise the Marquis de la Galissonnière, who had till now been governor-general, and was to sail for France at the first opportunity. He was accompanied by all the people belonging to the government. I was likewise invited to see this festivity. At half an hour after eight the new governor-general went from the ship into a barge covered with red cloth. A signal with cannons was given from the ramparts for all the bells in the town to be set ringing. All the people of distinction went down to the shore to salute the governor who, on alighting from the barge, was received by the Marquis de la Galissonnière. After they had saluted each other, the commandant of the town addressed the new governor in a very

¹ Pierre-Jacques de Taffanel, Marquis de la Jonquière (1685-1752). See long article on him in the *Dictionnaire Générale du Canada*, which quotes Kalm on Jonquière's personal appearance. See *infra*, p. 465.

² Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnol (1698-1778), last governor of New France (1755-1760), had been appointed governor of the Three Rivers in 1733, and was governor of Louisiana from 1742 to 1755. Obviously he did not spend much time in Louisiana if he still made his home in Trois Rivières. Or was the candidate "lately" nominated for the governorship of Three Rivers one of the other eleven Vaudreuil brothers, of whom Pierre was one? It was the latter who surrendered all Canada to the British in 1760.

Annexe 61 KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 463, (source papier)



Annexe 62, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 471, (source papier)

some paint their hair with the same material. Red is the color they chiefly use in painting themselves, but I have also seen some who had daubed their face with black. Many of them have figures on the face and on the whole body, which are stained into the skin, so as to be indelible. The manner of making them shall be described later. These figures are commonly black; some have a snake painted on each cheek, some have several crosses, some an arrow, others the sun, or anything else their imagination leads them to. They have such figures likewise on the breast, thighs and other parts of the body; but some have no figures at all. They wear a shirt which is either white or blue striped and a shaggy piece of cloth, which is either blue or white, with a blue or red stripe below. This they always carry over their shoulders, or let it hang down, in which case they wrap it round their middle. Round their neck they have a string of violet wampum, with some white wampum between them. These wampum are small, of the figure of oblong pearls, and made of the shells which the English call clams (*Venus mercenaria* L.) I shall make a more particular mention of them later. At the end of the wampum strings, many of the Indians wear a large French silver coin with the king's effigy on their breasts. Others have a large shell on the breast, of a fine white color, which they value very highly; others again have no ornament at all round the neck. They all have their breasts uncovered. In front hangs their tobacco pouch made of the skin of an animal with the hairy side turned outwards. Their shoes are made of skins, and bear a great resemblance to the heel-less shoes which the women in Finland use. Instead of stockings they wrap the legs in pieces of blue cloth, as I have seen the Russian peasants do.

The Mickmacks are dressed like the Hurons, but distinguish themselves by their long straight hair of jet-black. Almost all the Indians have black straight hair; however, I have met with a few, whose hair was quite curly. But it is to be observed that it is difficult to judge the true complexion of the Canada Indians, their blood being mixed with the European, either by the adopted prisoners of both sexes or by the Frenchmen who travel in the country and often contribute their share towards the increase of the Indian families, to which the women, it is said, have no serious objection. The Mickmacks are commonly not so tall as the Hurons. I have not seen any Indians whose hair is as long and straight as theirs.

Annexe 63, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 472, (source papier)

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Their language is different from that of the Hurons; therefore there is an interpreter here for them on purpose.

The Anies are the third kind of Indians which came hither. Fifty of them went to war, being allies of the English, in order to plunder in the neighborhood of Montreal. But the French, being informed of their scheme, laid an ambush, and killed with the first discharge of their guns forty-four of them so that only the four who were here to-day saved their lives, and two others who were ill at this time. They are as tall as the Hurons, whose language they speak. The Hurons seem to have a longer and the Anies a rounder face. The Anies have something cruel in their looks; but their dress is the same as that of the other Indians. They wear an oblong piece of white tin in the hair which lies on the neck. One of those I saw had taken a flower of the rose mallow, out of a garden where it was in full blossom at this time, and put it in the hair at the top of his head. Each of the Indians has a tobacco pipe of gray limestone which is blackened afterwards and has a stem of wood. There were no Indian women present at this interview. As soon as the governor came in and was seated in order to speak with them the Mickmacks sat down on the ground, like Laplanders, but the other Indians took chairs.

Annexe 64, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 473, (source papier)

Algonquin Words. By way of amusement I wrote down a few Algonquin words which I learned from a Jesuit who has been a long time among the Algonquins. They call water, *nypi*; *mukuman*, knife; the head, *ustigon*; the heart, *uthä*; the body, *wihas*; the foot, *ushita*; a little boat, *ush*; a ship, *nabikoän*; fire, *skute*; hay, *markusu*; the hare, *whabus*; (they have a verb which expresses the action of hunting hare, derived from the noun); the marten, *whabitania*; the elk, *musu*² (but so that the final u is hardly pronounced); the reindeer, *atticku*; the mouse, *manitulsis*; beaver, *amicku*. The Jesuit who told me those particulars, likewise informed me that he had great reason to believe that if any Indians here owed their origin to Tartary, he thought the Algonquins certainly did; for their language is universally spoken in that part of North America which lies far to the west of Canada, towards Asia.

Annexe 65, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 485, (source papier)

SEPTEMBER THE 12TH

We continued our journey all day.

The small kind of maize, which ripens in three months' time, was ripe about this date and harvested and hung up to dry.

The weather about this time was like the beginning of our August, old style. Therefore, it seems, autumn commences a whole month later in Canada than in the central part of Sweden.

Kitchen Gardens. Near each farm there is a kitchen garden in which onions are most abundant, because the French farmers eat their dinners of them with bread, on Fridays and Saturdays, or fasting days. However, I cannot say the French are strict observers of fasting, for several of my rowers ate meat to-day, though it was Friday. The common people in Canada may be smelled when one passes by them on account of their frequent use of onions. Pumpkins also are abundant in the farmers' gardens. They prepare them in several ways, but the most common is to cut them through the middle, and place each half on the hearth, open side towards the fire, till it is roasted. The pulp is then cut out of the peel and eaten. Better class people put sugar on it. Carrots, lettuce, Turkish beans, cucumbers, and currant shrubs, are planted in every farmer's little kitchen garden.

Tobacco. Every farmer plants a quantity of tobacco near his house, in proportion to the size of his family. It is necessary that one should plant tobacco, because it is so universally smoked by the common people. Boys of ten or twelve years of age, as well as the old people, run about with a pipe in their mouth. Persons of the better class do not refuse either to smoke a pipe now and then. In the northern parts of Canada they generally smoke pure tobacco but further north and around Montreal, they take the inner bark of the red Cornelian cherry (*Cornus sanguinea* L.), crush it, and mix it with the tobacco, to make it weaker. People of both sexes,

¹ According to Jos. E. Roy in *Voyage de Kalm en Canada* (1900) Kalm's total expenses in Canada amounted to 2,182 livres, all paid by the French Government.

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here, because it is not worth while; but they are served for dessert like other berries. They say these grapes do not grow so big here as in France.

Watermelons (*Cucurbita citrullus* L.) are cultivated in great plenty in the English and French American colonies, and there is hardly a peasant here who has not a field planted with them. They are cultivated chiefly in the neighborhood of the town, and they are very rare in the north part of Canada. The Indians plant great quantities of watermelons at present, but whether they have done it of old is not easily determined, for an old Oneida Indian (of the six Iroquois nations) assured me that the Red Men did not know watermelons before the Europeans came into the country and showed them to the Indians. The French, on the other hand, asserted that the Illinois Indians had abundance of this fruit when the French first came to them, and that they declared they had planted them since time immemorial. However, I do not remember having read that the Europeans, who first came to North America, mention the watermelons, in speaking of the dishes of the Indians at that time. How great the summer heat is in those parts of America which I have passed through can easily be conceived, when one considers that in all those places they never sow watermelons in hot beds but in the open fields in spring, without so much as covering them, and they ripen in the season. Here are two species of them, *viz.* one with a red pulp, and one with a white one. The first is more common to the southward, with the Illinois Indians, and in the English colonies; the last is more abundant in Canada. The seeds are sown in the spring, after the cold has entirely left, in a good rich ground, at considerable distance from each other, because their stalks spread far and require much room if they are to be very productive. They were now ripe at Montreal, but in the English colonies they ripen in July and August. They usually require less time to ripen than the common melons. Those in the English colonies are usually sweeter and more agreeable than the Canadian ones. Does the greater heat contribute anything towards making them more palatable? Those in the province of New York are, however, reckoned the best. They contain a large percentage of water, and are cut into slices when eaten. They are always consumed raw, fresh.

The watermelons are very juicy; and the juice is mixed with the

Annexe 67, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 515, (source papier)

cooling pulp, which is very refreshing in the hot summer season. Nobody in Canada, Albany, or any other part of New York, could produce an example that the eating of watermelons in great quantities had hurt anybody; and there are examples of sick persons eating them without any danger. Further to the south, the frequent use of them, it is thought, brings on intermitting fevers and other bad distempers, especially in such people as are less used to them. Many Frenchmen assured me that when people born in Canada came to the Illinois Indians and ate several times of the watermelons there, they immediately got a fever; and therefore the Illinois advised the French not to eat of a fruit so dangerous to them. They themselves are subject to attack by fevers, if they cool their stomachs too often with watermelons. In Canada they keep them in a room which is a little heated, which means they keep fresh two months after they are ripe; but care must be taken that the frost does not spoil them. In the English plantations they keep them fresh in dry cellars during a part of the winter. They assured me that they keep better when they are carefully broken off from the stalk, and afterwards singed with a redhot iron in the place where the stalk was attached. In this manner they may be eaten at Christmas, and after. In Pennsylvania, where they have a dry sandy earth, they dig a hole in the ground, put the watermelons carefully into it with their stalks, by which means they keep very fresh during a great part of the winter. Few people, however, take this trouble with the watermelons; because they being very cooling, and the winter being very cold too, it seems to be less necessary to keep them for eating in that season, which is already very cold. They are of the opinion in these parts that cucumbers are more refreshing than watermelons. The latter are very strongly diuretic. The Iroquois call them *onóheserakáhti*.

Pumpkins of several kinds, oblong, round, flat or compressed, crook-necked, small, etc. are planted in all the English and French colonies. In Canada they fill the chief part of the farmers' kitchen gardens, though the onions are a close second. Each farmer in the English plantations has a large field planted with pumpkins, and the Germans, Swedes, Dutch and other Europeans settled in their colonies plant them. They constitute a considerable part of the Indian food; however, the natives plant more squashes than common pumpkins. They declare that they had the latter long before

Annexe 68: KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 516, (source papier)

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necessary to take money on such a journey, as the Indians do not value it; and indeed I think the French, who go on these journeys, scarcely ever take a sol or penny with them.

Goods Sold to the Natives. I will now enumerate the chief goods which the French carry with them for this trade, and which have a good sale among the Indians:

1.¹ *Muskets, powder, shot, and balls.* The Europeans have taught the Indians in their neighborhood the use of firearms, and so they have laid aside their bows and arrows, which were formerly their only arms, and use muskets. If the Europeans should now refuse to supply the natives with muskets, they would starve to death, as almost all their food consists of the flesh of the animals which they hunt; or they would be irritated to such a degree as to attack the colonists. The savages have hitherto never tried to make muskets or similar firearms, and their great indolence does not even allow them to mend those muskets which they have. They leave this entirely to the settlers. When the Europeans came into North America they were very careful not to give the Indians any firearms. But in the wars between the French and English, each party gave their Indian allies firearms in order to weaken the force of the enemy. The French lay the blame upon the Dutch settlers in Albany, saying that the latter began in 1642 to give their Indians firearms, and taught the use of them in order to weaken the French. The inhabitants of Albany, on the contrary, assert that the French first introduced this custom, as they would have been too weak to resist the combined force of the Dutch and English in the colonies. Be this as it may, it is certain that the Indians buy muskets from the white men, and know at present better how to make use of them than some of their teachers. It is likewise certain that the colonists gain considerably by their trade in muskets and ammunition.

2, a. *Pieces of white cloth,* or of a coarse uncut material. The Indians constantly wear such cloth, wrapping it round their bodies. Sometimes they hang it over their shoulders; in warm weather they fasten the pieces round the middle; and in cold weather they put them over the head. Both their men and women wear these pieces of cloth, which have commonly several blue or red stripes on the edge.

¹The goods are not numbered in the original.

Annexe 69, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 519, (source papier)

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(*cerfs verts*), 8 livres; bad skins of elks and stags (*originacs et cerfs passés*), 3 livres; skins of roebucks, 25, or 30 sols; red foxes, 3 livres; beavers, 3 livres.

I will now insert a list of all the different kinds of skins, which are to be gotten in Canada, and which are sent from there to Europe. I obtained it from one of the greatest merchants in Montreal. They are as follows:

Prepared roebuck skins, *chevreuils passés*.

Unprepared ditto, *chevreuils verts*.

Tanned ditto, *chevreuils tanés*.

Bears, *ours*.

Young bears, *oursons*.

Otters, *loutres*.

Pécans, [Woodshock, [or fisher] a species of Canadian marten (Marchand)].

Cats, *chats*.

Wolves, *loup de bois*.

Lynxes, *loups cerviers*.

North pichoux, *pichoux du nord*.

South pichoux, *pichoux du sud*.

Red foxes, *renards rouges*.

Cross foxes, *renards croisés*.

Black foxes, *renards noirs*.

Gray foxes, *renards argentes*.

Southern or Virginian foxes, *renards du sud ou de Virginie*.

White foxes, from Tadoussac, *renards blancs de Tadoussac*.

Martens, *martres*.

Visons, or *foutreaux*.

Black squirrels, *écureuils noirs*.

Raw stags skins, *cerfs verts*.

Prepared ditto, *cerfs passés*.

Raw elk skins, *originacs verts*.

Prepared ditto, *originacs passés*.

Reindeer skins, *cariboux*.

Raw hind skins, *biches vertes*.

Prepared ditto, *biches passées*.

Carcajoux. [Wolverene or Labrador badger].

Muskrats, *rats musqués*.

Annexe 70, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 523, (source papier)

Land Owned by Clergy and Noblemen. The whole cultivated part of Canada has been given away by the king to the clergy and some noblemen; but all the uncultivated parts belong to him, as likewise the place on which Quebec and Trois Rivières are built. The ground on which the town of Montreal is built, together with the whole isle of that name, belongs to the priests of the order of St. Sulpicius, who live at Montreal. They have given the land in tenure to farmers and others who are willing to settle on it, so much that they have no more upon their hands at present. The first settlers paid a trifling rent for their land; for frequently the whole lease for a piece of ground, three arpens broad and thirty long, consisted of a couple of chickens; and some pay twenty, thirty, or forty sols for a piece of land the same size. But those who came later had to pay near two écus (crowns) for such a piece of land, and thus the land rent became very unequal throughout the country. The revenues of the Bishop of Canada do not arise from any landed property. The churches are built at the expense of the congregations. The inhabitants of Canada do not yet pay any taxes to

Annexe 71, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 531, (source papier)

SEPTEMBER THE 27TH

Beavers. Beavers are abundant all over North America and they are one of the chief articles of trade in Canada. The Indians live upon their flesh during a great part of the year. It is certain that these animals multiply very fast; but it is also true that vast numbers of them are annually killed and that the Indians are obliged at present to undertake distant journeys in order to catch or shoot them. Their decreasing in number is very easily accounted for because the Indians, before the arrival of the Europeans, only caught as many as they found necessary to clothe themselves with, there being then no trade with the skins. At present a number of ships go annually to Europe, laden chiefly with beavers' skins; the English and French endeavor to outdo each other by paying the Indians well for them, and this encourages the latter to extirpate these animals. All the people in Canada told me that when they were young all the rivers in the neighborhood of Montreal, the St. Lawrence River not excepted, were full of beavers and their dams; but at present they are so far destroyed that one is obliged to go several miles up the country before one can meet one. I have already remarked above that the beaver skins from the north are better than those from the south.

The Beaver a "Fish". Beaver meat is eaten not only by the Indians but likewise by the Europeans, and especially by the French on their fasting days; for his Holiness the Pope has, like many of the old zoologists, classified the beaver among the fishes, since he spends most of his time in water. The meat is reckoned best if the beaver has lived upon vegetables, such as the aspen and the beaver tree (*Magnolia glauca* L.); but when he has eaten fish, it does not taste so well. To-day I tasted this meat boiled for the first time; and though everybody present besides myself thought it a delicious dish, yet I could not agree with them. I think it is eatable, but has nothing delicious about it. It looks black when boiled and has a peculiar taste. In order to prepare it well it must be boiled from morning till noon, that it may lose the strange taste which it has. The tail is likewise eaten, after it has been boiled in the same manner and roasted afterwards; but it consists of fat only, though they would not call it so, and cannot be swallowed by one who is not used to eating it.

Annexe 72, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 534, (source papier)

OCTOBER THE 5TH

Government. The governor-general at Quebec, is, as I have already mentioned before, the chief magistrate in Canada. Next to him is the intendant at Quebec; then follows the governor of Trois Rivières. The intendant has the greatest power next to the governor-general; he pays all the money of the government, and is president of the board of finances and of the court of justice in this country. He is, however, under the governor-general; for if he refuses to do anything to which he seems obligated by his office, the governor-general can give him orders to do it, which he must obey. He is allowed, however, to appeal to the government in France. In each of the capital towns, the governor is the highest person, then the lieutenant-general, next to him a major, and after him the captains. The governor-general gives the first orders in all matters of consequence. When he comes to Trois Rivières and Montreal, the power of the governor ceases, because he always commands wherever he is. The governor-general commonly goes to Montreal once every year, and usually in winter, and during his absence from Quebec, the lieutenant-general commands there. When the governor-general dies, or goes to France before a new one has come in his stead, the governor of Montreal goes to Quebec to take command in the interim, leaving the major in command at Montreal.

Trade. One or two of the king's ships are annually sent from

Annexe 73, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 539, (source papier)

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in everybody. There are several places among the Indians far in the country where the French have stores of their goods; and these places they call *les postes*. The king has no other fortresses in Canada than Quebec, Fort Chambly, Fort St. Jean, Fort St. Frédéric, or Crown Point, Montreal, Frontenac, and Niagara. All other places belong to private persons. The king keeps the Niagara trade all to himself. Everyone who intends to trade with the Indians must have a license from the governor-general, for which he must pay a sum proportionate to the advantages for trade. A merchant who sends out a boat laden with all sorts of goods, and four or five persons with it, is obliged to give five or six hundred livres for the permission; and there are places for which they give a thousand livres. Sometimes one cannot buy the license to go to a certain trading place because the governor-general has granted or intends to grant it to some acquaintance or relation of his. The money arising from the granting of licenses belongs to the governor-general; but it is customary to give half of it to the poor: whether this is always strictly observed or not I shall not pretend to determine.

The Catholic Church Service. No other religion was tolerated here except the Catholic. It was said by all those who had been in France that people of both sexes in Canada were more devout than they were in France; nowhere could they go to church more regularly than here. Most of the service was in Latin. It seemed as if the whole service was too much of an external *opus operatum*. Most of it consisted in the reading of prayers with a rapidity which made it impossible to understand them, even for those who understood Latin. I could only get a word now and then and never a whole sentence, so that the common man could certainly get nothing of it nor derive any benefit from it. Even the best Latin scholar could not possibly keep his thoughts together and pray fervently at such break-neck speed. In fact, this must have been impossible for the priests themselves. The sermon was in French, and all quotations from the Scriptures were first given in the Latin Vulgate and then translated into French. Even the clericals, however, had difficulty in speaking Latin, since the words they needed did not appear in their missals. It was customary both in the city and country, both upon rising and retiring, to kneel in prayer; but whether this was in Latin or French I did not wish to be inquisitive enough to ask.

Annexes 74, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 541, (source papier)

... and this fish destroys and devours all other fishes.

Indians. A great number of the natives, i. e. the confederates of the French, had already begun to dress like the French: the same kind of jacket and vest, while on journeys they wore the same red cap or hat. But one could not persuade them to use trousers, for they thought that these were a great hindrance in walking. The women were not so quick to give up the customs of their forefathers and clothe themselves according to the new styles, but stuck to the old fashions in everything. But wait! Some had . . . caps of homespun or of coarse blue broad-cloth. When the French are travelling about in this country, they are generally dressed like the natives; they wear then no trousers, but do not carry Indian weapons. Monsieur Croix related that when the Indians go out during the summer to steal a march upon their enemies, they bind green grass about their heads, creep along the ground, pressing their bodies as close as possible to the earth, and move very stealthily to the place where their enemies are or those whom they wish to surprise. The enemy then cannot see them, but he thinks that it is the green grass only which is moving, and quick as a flash the adversary is upon his throat. When they . . . dance their war dance, they often bind their heads with green grass to depict this. The natives farther south among the Illinois have another way of sur-

Annexes 75, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 560, (source papier)

prising their enemy, namely by imitating the sounds of all kinds of birds and quadrupeds, a practice which they make use of when they run about in the woods at night. They lie in wait at a place where they know the Frenchmen or their enemies are, with their rifles cocked, and imitate the sound of some bird, etc. to entice the enemy to shoot at it. When the enemy comes close, he knows nothing before the others bear down upon him. They have a way of enticing the roe bucks to them. They tie the head of a roe to the back of their own head, crawl along the ground where they know the roe deer are, make sounds like one of these animals, which immediately comes to them. But as soon as the Indian gets the animal as close to himself as he wishes, he fires his gun, which he has had cocked and ready. When the French travel with their wares among those natives who live in the southernmost regions, they have to keep careful watch during the night and be alert in daytime, since they do not know what kind of Indians they come in contact with, and since a great many of them do not wish to let slip the opportunity to kill the Frenchmen in order to get their goods. The natives are tremendously rugged. I saw them going about these days with only a shirt on and a weapon hanging over it, often without shoes [moccasins], though they had on their . . . or stockings. The men wore no trousers, the women a short, thin skirt; neither of the sexes had anything on their heads. Thus they travelled at this time through the forests on their hunting trips, both in good and bad weather. They lay in this manner during cold and rainy nights in the damp and wet forests without having any other clothes to put under or on top of themselves at night than those they wore during the day. Consequently they carried their beds with them wherever they went. When they came in to Montreal to buy anything and when they left, the women had to carry heavy loads on their backs, but the men went as gentlemen without carrying anything except their guns, their pipes and their tobacco pouches.

Annexes 76, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 561, (source papier)

PETER KALM'S TRAVELS

[...] *Fishing*. I have mentioned before various methods employed in fishing here. Now I wish to add another to these. At fort St. Jean I saw people fish by the light of troches in the same manner as we do. One of the men who was with me described how they sweep the bottom of the large lakes in Canada with seines, especially on lake Superior, etc., and his account was just as if I had described the way in which we fish in the winter with a drag-nry in österbeotten and Wöro [Finland].

Decrease in the Number of Animals, Birds, and Fishes. It is said that beavers and other animals, whose skins are sent to France, were formerly very numerous in the neighborhood of Montreal and the populated places in Canada. Now they have about disapeared there and it is necessary to travel far to shoot or bargain for them, and in the future it will be necessary to go still farther. Various kinds of birds have decreased in number, also the fish in some localities, though that is not yet so evident. Wolves are plentiful in this region. [...].

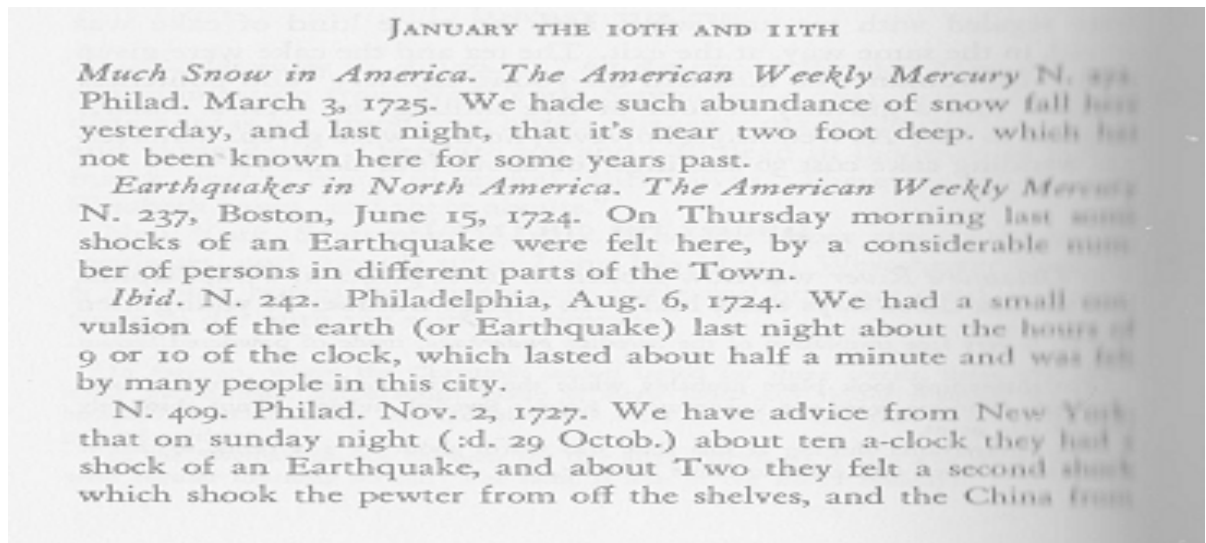
Annexes 77, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 567, (source papier)

OCTOBER THE 28TH

Leaving Saratoga. Early in the morning I resumed my journey from this place. It was indeed possible to go down the river in a boat, but as there were many places where there were cliffs and rocks in it, and as the water was very low, I chose the ordinary means of travel, by wagon along the country road. We crossed the river for the first time some distance above the Saratoga redoubt. The water was so deep here that it went over the front wheels of the wagon and the horses were just on the verge of swimming. The next time was just before we came to the place where Fort Saratoga had formerly been located. Here I was shown the spot where in the last war the French through an artful trick had taken a couple of hundred Englishmen prisoners right in view of the garrison of said fort. The story runs thus: Monsieur St. Luc, a Canadian officer with whom I have the pleasure of being well acquainted,¹ was ordered to make a sally. He stationed his men during the night in the woods not far from the fortress. In the morning, after daylight, he sent forth a few natives who were to shoot or take prisoners any who might leave the fort. The English shot at these, who pretended that they had been wounded and so could not run. Soon three hundred men rushed out of the fort to take them prisoners, ran along the field located on the northern side of the fort, and before they were aware of it, they were cut off from the fort and surrounded by the French. They saw no other way out than to give

¹ This is undoubtedly M. St. Luc de La Corne (Lacorne) (1712-1784), later legislative councillor of Quebec, who was an officer in the Canadian army about this time. He "took part in the defense of the province against Americans in 1775-76; and he commanded the Canadians and Indians in the campaign of 1778, under Burgoyne." The attack on Saratoga had taken place in May and June, 1747; but the attacking force seems to have been the larger, for St. Luc had two hundred men at his command, and only forty English prisoners were captured. Apparently the victory had been considerably exaggerated by the Frenchmen who told the story to Kalm. See article on St. Luc de La Corne in the *Dictionnaire Générale du Canada*.

Annexe 78, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 603, (source papier)



Annexe 79, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 678, (source papier)

off the cupboardsheds & chimney pieces, & set all the clocks a running down.

N. 412. Boston, Nov. 6, 1727. On the 20:th past, about 30 minutes past 10 a night, which was very calm & serene, and the sky full of stars, the town was on a suddain exceedingly surprised with the most violent shock of an Earthquake that ever was known. It began with a loud noise like thunder, the very earth reel'd and trembled to such a prodigious degree, that the houses rock'd and shook in so much that every body expected they should be buried in the ruins. Abundance of the inhabitants were wakened out of their sleep, with the utmost astonishment, & others so terribly afraighted, that they ran into the streets thinking themselves more safe there, but through the infinite goodness and mercy of God, the shock continued but about 2 minutes, and tho' some small damage was done in a few houses, yet by God's great blessing, we don't hear that any body received any hurt thereby. There was several times till the next morning heard some distant rumblings of it, but since then the earth has been quiet, tho' the minds of the people have still a great & just terror & dread upon them. On the next day prayers were offered in almost all the churches and the day was set apart as a public fast-day.

N. 420. Boston, Dec. 7, 1727. We hear from Newbury, that last week, *viz.* on wednesday and friday, they had there the repeated shocks of an Earthquake.

N. 422. Boston, Dec. 28, 1727. By Capt. Cooper late from Barbados, we have advice, that the Earthquake we had here October the 29:th, about half an hour past 10 in the evening was felt there the day before about noon; which is nigh 2000 miles from this place. The houses were in great convulsion, and the streets arose and fell like the waves of the sea, so that they were afraid the earth would sink under them, and they ran down to the wharves, to get into boats and vessels for their safety.

N. 428. Marblehead, Jan. 31, 1728. Yesterday between 1 & 2 a clock p. m. we had a terrible shock of an Earthquake, which began with a rumbling noise like the rolling a log over an hollow floor, it increased until it seemed like the discharging of several cannon at a distance; at which time the earth trembled so as to jar the pewter on the shelves in many houses; the whole shock lasted about 30 seconds. It's thought that had this shock been in the night in

Annexe 80, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 679, (source papier)

Annexe 81

PETER KALM'S TRAVELS

[...] *The language of Indians* is difficult to speak, as you can see from the following *Numatchetekodtantamoonganunash*, which [...]

Annexe 79, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 681, (source papier)

Annexe 81 bis

PETER KALM'S TRAVELS

... signifies our lusts. *Kummogdadonattoottummooc itaeon gannunnonash* means *our question*. Mr. [John] Eliot [apostle to the Indians], the first clergyman in New England, learned this language from an Indian man-servant and later wrote a grammar of the dialect. He began his mission in October, 1646. (February 14, 1750).

Annexe 81 bis, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 682, (source papier)

The Indian Catechism. The Rev. Mr. Lars Nyberg⁴ told me that he had taken a copy of the Indian Catechism, which had been sent over from Sweden, and tested it on the savage natives of Virginia to see whether or not they could understand it, since it was said to be translated into their dialect.⁵ But they could not comprehend a word of it, whereas it was found upon examining the Indians on the Delaware River that they understood a good deal. The late Mr. Peter Kock asserted several times that it was stupid to have spent so much money in the printing of the Red Man's Catechism, since it had not been translated into the right Indian dialect (May 21, 1750).

Annexe 82, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 684, (source papier)

In order to learn more of the nature of the interior of America, its natural products, the customs of the inhabitants, etc. I undertook during the summer of 1750 a journey through the land of the Iroquois. These Indians or savages have for a long time had the reputation of being cannibals, because they were occasionally wont to roast their prisoners of war and eat their flesh, so as to inspire a greater terror among their enemies. This custom has now for the most part been given up. A traveller who visits their villages or cities must not be terrified if he sometimes should find the outside of the gable walls of their houses covered with human skulls. These are trophies of war and serve as victory proofs of the number of enemies slain. Nevertheless, however cruel they may be in warfare, when it is in no way advisable to meet them, they are, on the other hand, very friendly and hospitable when at home in times of peace, especially if they are sober, for then they exhibit greater hospitality than most of the Christians. A stranger has scarcely time to enter their dwelling before the Indian mistress offers food, while her husband tries in his way to entertain the visitor. Since Niagara is located near their land I felt it worth while to see it, as one of the most remarkable sights in nature. I knew that no

**Annexes 83, KALM Peter, *Peter Kalm's travels in North America, the English Version of 1770*, New York, Dover Publications, INC, (1ère ed 1937), 1964, page 694,
(source papier)**

Annexes partie 2

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Gottlieb Mittelberger

Annexe 1

[...] CONTAINING NOT ONLY A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY ACCORDING TO ITS PRESENT CONDITION, BUT ALSO A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE SAD AND UNFORTUNATE CIRCUMSTANCES OF MOST OF THE GERMANS THAT HAVE EMIGRATED, OR ARE EMIGRATING TO THAT COUNTRY.

Annexe 1, MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898,(source archive.org), page 9

Annexe 2

delphia the voyage lasted 15 weeks. I was nearly 4 years in that country, engaged, as my testimonials show, as organist and schoolmaster with the German St. Augustine's Church in Providence, having besides given private instruction in music and in the German language, as the following certificate will show, at the house of Captain Diemer.

Annexe 2, MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 14

ened the first impulse in me not to keep concealed what I knew. But the most important occasion for publishing this little book was the wretched and grievous condition of those who travel from Germany to this new land, and the outrageous and merciless proceeding of the Dutch man-dealers and their man-stealing emissaries; I mean the so-called newlanders, for they steal, as it were, German people under all manner of false pretenses, and deliver them into the hands of the great Dutch traffickers in human souls. These derive a large, and the newlanders a smaller profit from this traffic. This, I say, is the main cause why I publish this book. I had to bind myself even by a vow to do so. For before I left Pennsylvania, when it became known that I was about to return to Würtemberg, many Würtembergers, Durlachers and Palatines, of whom there are a great number there who repent and regret it while they live that they left their native country, implored me with tears and uplifted hands and

Annexe 3, MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 16

Mittelberger page 18:

When the ships with the people come to Holland, they are detained there likewise 5 or 6 weeks. Because things are very dear there, the poor people have to spend nearly all they have during that time. Not to mention many sad accidents which occur here; having seen with my own eyes how a man, as he was about to

Annexe 4, MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 18

to board the ship near Rotterdam, lost two children at once by drowning.

Both in Rotterdam and in Amsterdam the people are packed densely, like herrings so to say, in the large sea-vessels. One person receives a place of scarcely 2 feet width and 6 feet length in the bedstead, while many a ship carries four to six hundred souls ; not to mention the innumerable implements, tools, provisions, water-barrels and other things which likewise occupy much space.

On account of contrary winds it takes the ships sometimes 2, 3 and 4 weeks to make the trip from Holland to Kaupp [Cowes] in England. But when the wind is good, they get there in 8 days or even sooner. Everything is examined there and the custom-duties paid, whence it comes that the ships ride there 8, 10 to 14 days and even longer at anchor, till they have taken in their full cargoes. During that time every one is compelled to spend his last remaining money and to consume his little stock of provisions which had been reserved for the sea ; so that most passengers, finding themselves on the ocean where they would be in greater need of them, must greatly suffer from hunger and want. Many suffer want already on the water between Holland and Old England.

Annexe 5, MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 19

But during the voyage there is on board these ships terrible misery, stench, fumes, horror, vomiting, many kinds of sea-sickness, fever, dysentery, headache, heat, constipation, boils, scurvy, cancer, mouth-rot, and the like, all of which come from old and sharply salted food and meat, also from very bad and foul water, so that many die miserably.

Add to this want of provisions, hunger, thirst, frost, heat, dampness, anxiety, want, afflictions and lamentations, together with other trouble, as *c. v.* the lice abound so frightfully, especially on sick people, that they can be scraped off the body. The misery reaches the climax when a gale rages for 2 or 3 nights and days, so that every one believes that the ship will go to the bottom with all human beings on board. In such a visitation the people cry and pray most piteously.

When in such a gale the sea rages and surges, so that the waves rise often like high mountains

Annexe 6, MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 20

I myself had to pass through a severe illness at sea, and I best know how I felt at the time. These poor people often long for consolation, and I often entertained and comforted them with singing, praying and exhorting ; and whenever it was possible and the winds and waves permitted it, I kept daily prayer-meetings with them on deck. Besides, I baptized five children in distress, because we had no ordained minister on board. I also held divine service every Sunday by reading sermons to the people ; and when the dead were sunk in the water, I commended them and our souls to the mercy of God.

Annexe 7 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 21

Children from 1 to 7 years rarely survive the voyage ; and many a time parents are compelled to see their children miserably suffer and die from hunger, thirst and sickness, and then to see them cast into the water. I witnessed such misery in no less than 32 children in our ship, all of whom were thrown into the sea. The parents grieve all the more since their children find no resting-place in the earth, but are devoured by the monsters of the sea. It is a notable fact that children, who have not yet had the measles or small-pocks, generally get them on board the ship, and mostly die of them.

Often a father is separated by death from his wife and children, or mothers from their little children, or even both parents from their children ; and sometimes whole families die in quick succession ; so that often many dead persons lie in the berths beside the living ones, especially when contagious diseases have broken out on board the ship.

Many other accidents happen on board these
ships.

Annexe 8 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 23

voyage, the ships come in sight of land, so that the promontories can be seen, which the people were so eager and anxious to see, all creep from below on deck to see the land from afar, and they weep for joy, and pray and sing, thanking and praising God. The sight of the land makes the people on board the ship, especially the sick and the half dead, alive again, so that their hearts leap within them; they shout and rejoice, and are content to bear their misery in patience, in the hope that they may soon reach the land in safety. But alas!

When the ships have landed at Philadelphia after their long voyage, no one is permitted to leave them except those who pay for their passage or can give good security; the others, who cannot pay, must remain on board the ships till they are purchased, and are released from the ships by their purchasers. The sick always fare the worst, for the healthy are naturally preferred and purchased first; and so the sick and wretched must often remain on board in front of the city for 2 or 3 weeks, and frequently die, whereas many a one, if he could pay his debt and were permitted to leave the ship immediately, might recover and remain alive.

Before I describe how this traffic in human flesh is conducted, I must mention how much
the

Annexe 9 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 25

the journey to Philadelphia or Pennsylvania costs.

A person over 10 years pays for the passage from Rotterdam to Philadelphia 10 pounds, or 60 florins. Children from 5 to 10 years pay half price, 5 pounds or 30 florins. All children under 5 years are free. For these prices the passengers are conveyed to Philadelphia, and, as long as they are at sea, provided with food, though with very poor, as has been shown above.

But this is only the sea-passage; the other costs on land, from home to Rotterdam, including the passage on the Rhine, are at least 40 florins, no matter how economically one may live. No account is here taken of extraordinary contingencies. I may safely assert that, with the greatest economy, many passengers have spent 200 florins from home to Philadelphia.

The sale of human beings in the market on board the ship is carried on thus: Every day Englishmen, Dutchmen and High-German people come from the city of Philadelphia and other places, in part from a great distance, say 20, 30, or 40 hours away, and go on board the newly arrived ship that has brought and offers for sale passengers from Europe, and select among the healthy persons such as they deem suitable for their business, and bargain with them how long they will serve for their passage-money, which

most

Annexe 10 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphia, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 26

most of them are still in debt for. When they have come to an agreement, it happens that adult persons bind themselves in writing to serve 3, 4, 5 or 6 years for the amount due by them, according to their age and strength. But very young people, from 10 to 15 years, must serve till they are 21 years old.

Many parents must sell and trade away their children like so many head of cattle ; for if their children take the debt upon themselves, the parents can leave the ship free and unrestrained; but as the parents often do not know where and to what people their children are going, it often happens that such parents and children, after leaving the ship, do not see each other again for many years, perhaps no more in all their lives.

Annexe 11 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 27

When a husband or wife has died at sea, when the ship has made more than half of her trip, the survivor must pay or serve not only for himself or herself, but also for the deceased.

When both parents have died over half-way at sea, their children, especially when they are young and have nothing to pawn or to pay, must stand for their own and their parents' passage, and serve till they are 21 years old. When one has served his or her term, he or she is entitled to a new suit of clothes at parting ; and if it has been so stipulated, a man gets in addition a horse, a woman, a cow.

Annexe 12 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1750, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 28

Work and labor in this new and wild land are very hard and manifold, and many a one who came there in his old age must work very hard to his end for his bread. I will not speak of young people. Work mostly consists in cutting wood, felling oak-trees, rooting out, or as they say there, clearing large tracts of forest. Such forests, being cleared, are then laid out
for

Annexe 13 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 29

Our Europeans, who are purchased, must always work hard, for new fields are constantly laid out; and so they learn that stumps of oak-trees are in America certainly as hard as in Germany. In this hot land they fully experience in their own persons what God has imposed on man for his sin and disobedience; for in Genesis we read the words: In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread. Who therefore wishes to earn his bread in a Christian and honest way, and cannot earn it in his fatherland otherwise than by the work of his hands, let him do so in his own country, and not in America; for he will not fare better in America. However hard he may be compelled to work in his fatherland, he will surely find it quite as hard, if not harder, in the new country. Besides, there is not only the long and arduous journey lasting half a year, during which he has to suffer, more than with the hardest work; he has also spent about 200 florins which no one will refund to him. If he has so much money, it will slip out of his hands;

Annexe 14 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 30

When these men-thieves persuade persons of rank, such as nobles, learned or skilled people, who cannot pay their passage and cannot give security, these are treated just like ordinary poor people, and must remain on board the ship till some one comes and buys them from the captain. And when they are released at last from the ship, they must serve their lords and masters, by whom they have been bought, like common day-laborers. Their rank, skill and learning avails them nothing, for here none but laborers and mechanics are wanted. But the worst is that such people, who are not accustomed to work, are treated to blows and cuffs,

Annexe 15 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 39

a hundred thousand. The Germans are most numerous among the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. Many of these Germans study diverse languages in said *gymnasium*.

In the court house of Philadelphia, four principal courts are annually held, and public judgment is passed in all occurring cases. Young and old may enter the court-room on such court-days and hear what is tried and transacted, and which often gives rise to a terrible laughter among the audience.

I will quote here but one example out of

Annexe 16 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 51

Coming to speak of Pennsylvania again, that colony possesses great liberties above all other English colonies, inasmuch as all religious sects are tolerated there. We find there Lutherans, Reformed, Catholics, Quakers, Mennonists or Anabaptists, Herrnhuters or Moravian Brethren, Pietists, Seventh Day Baptists, Dunkers, Presbyterians, Newborn, Freemasons, Separatists, Freethinkers, Jews, Mohammedans, Pagans, Negroes and Indians. The Evangelicals and Reformed, however, are in the majority. But there are many hundred unbaptized souls

Annexe 17 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 54

souls there that do not even wish to be baptized. Many pray neither in the morning nor in the evening, neither before nor after meals. No devotional book, not to speak of a Bible, will be found with such people. In one house and one family, 4, 5, and even 6 sects, may be found.

Liberty in Pennsylvania extends so far that every one is free from all molestation and taxation on his property, business, house and estates. On a hundred acres of land a tax of no more than an English shilling is paid annually, which is called ground-rent or quit-rent; a shilling is about 18 kreuzers of German money. A peculiarity, however, is that unmarried men and women pay from 2 to 5 shillings annually, according to their income, because they have no one but themselves to provide for. In Philadelphia this money is applied to the purchase of the lights which burn every night in the streets of the city.

This country was granted by the King of England to a distinguished Quaker named PENN, from whom the land of Pennsylvania takes its name. Even now there are some young Lords Von PENN who, however, do not reside in the country, but in London, in Old England. A. D. 1754, a young Lord Von PENN was in the country. He renewed and confirmed

Annexe 18 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 55

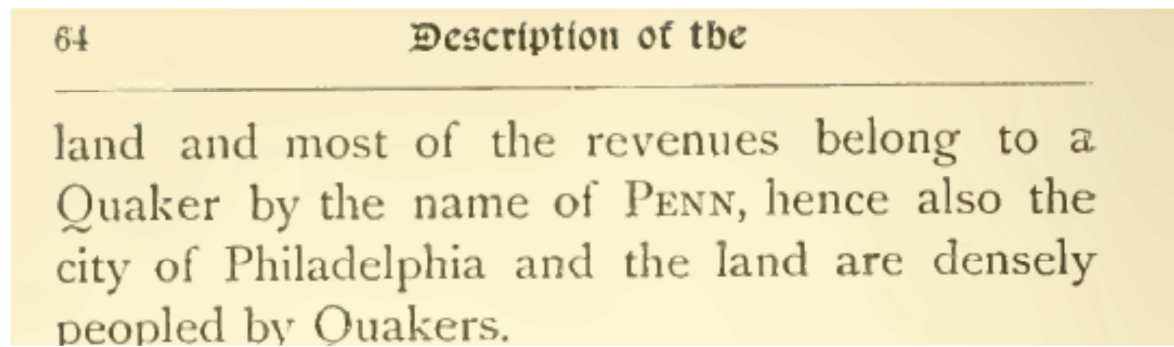
No trade or profession in Pennsylvania is bound by guilds; every one may carry on whatever business he will or can, and if any one could or would carry on ten trades, no one would have a right to prevent him; and if, for instance, a lad as an apprentice, or through his own unaided exertions, learns his art or trade in six months, he can pass for a master, and may marry whenever he chooses. It is a surprising fact that young people who were born in this new land, are very clever, docile and skilful; for many a one looks at a work of skill or art only a few times, and imitates it immediately, while in Germany many a one has to learn for years to do the same thing perfectly. But here many a one is able to produce the most artful things in a short time. When the young folks have gone to school for six months, they are generally able to read anything.

The land of Pennsylvania is a healthy land; it has for the most part good soil, good air and water, many high mountains, and also much flat land; it is very rich in wood; where it is not inhabited a pure forest in which many small and large waters flow. The land is also very fertile, and all sorts of grain grow well. It is quite
 populous,

Annexe 19 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 56

supported by any *Consistorio*. Most preachers are hired by the year like the cowherds in Germany; and if one does not preach to their liking, he must expect to be served with a notice that his services will no longer be required. It is, therefore, very difficult to be a conscientious preacher, especially as they have to hear and suffer much from so many hostile and often wicked sects. The most exemplary preachers are often reviled, insulted and scoffed at like the Jews, by the young and old, especially in the country. I would, therefore, rather perform the meanest herdsman's duties in Germany than be a preacher in Pennsylvania. Such unheard-of rudeness and wickedness spring from the excessive liberties of the land, and from the blind zeal of the many sects. To many a one's soul and body, liberty in Pennsylvania is more hurtful than useful. There is a saying in that country: Pennsylvania is the heaven of the farmers, the paradise of the mechanics, and the hell of the officials and preachers.

Annexe 20 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 63



Annexe 21 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 64

Annexe 22

In the rural districts of Pennsylvania the newborn children are not brought to church to receive

Annexe 22 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 68

Annexe 22 bis

ceive the holy baptism till they are a fortnight, several weeks, three or six months, and sometimes a whole year old; so that such large and wild children often kick at the preacher or baptist, thus giving rise to laughter. Many

Annexe 22 bis MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 69

The wood in the above-named new country grows fast and is much taller, but less durable than with us. It is quite surprising how dense the forests are, and what beautiful, smooth, thick and tall trees they contain. There are many kinds of trees, mostly oaks, but they are not so fruitful as those in Germany. After these there are also beech-trees, but not many. Birch-trees are rarely found, but I saw some that were very tall and as thick as a thick oak-tree. I have already spoken of the poplars; they have soft wood which looks snow-white inside; there are many of them. Walnut-trees are exceedingly plentiful; this beautiful coffee-brown and hard wood is precious and useful, because all sorts of fine and elegant household furniture are made of it. When cut, a great deal of it is shipped to Holland, England, Ireland and other countries where it brings a high price. These walnut-trees bear every year nuts which are as large as a medium-sized apple, from which much oil is made. They have bark and leaves like our large nut-trees. Our large German walnut-trees are little cultivated as yet. There are but few hazel-nut shrubs in the forests, but of chestnut-trees there is a multitude;

Annexe 23 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 73

Of the savages, or Indians, who hold intercourse with the English, there is a great multitude; they live even beyond the Ohio, and the Hudson River on which Albany lies; therefore on both sides to the right and left of Pennsylvania. These two waters, which are very large, are about 100 hours' journey from Philadelphia. These savages live in the bush in huts, away from said waters, and so far inland that no one is able to find the end of the habitations of these savages. The farther we get into the country, the more savages we see. They support themselves in various ways; some shoot game, others dig roots, some raise tobacco and Indian corn or maize, which they eat raw or boiled; besides, they deal also in all sorts of hides, in beaver-skins and costly furs.

The

Annexe 24 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 82

The savages that live on the borders of the Europeans are frequently seen ; some of them understand a little English. I myself have several times seen whole families ; once I had occasion, at the request of Captain Von Diemer, to play the organ to a savage family, when they became very gay and manifested their surprise and joy by signs and genuflections. These Indians, who walk about amid other people, wear instead of clothes, blankets, such as are usually used as covers for the horses ; these they have hanging uncut and unsewed about their bare bodies. They wear no coverings on their heads or on their feet. The form of their bodies does not differ from ours, except that they look dark yellow, which, however, is not their natural color, for they besmear and stain themselves thus ; but at their birth they are born as white as we are. Both men and women have long, smooth hair on their heads ; the men do not tolerate beards ; and when in their youth, the hairs begin to grow, they pull them out immediately ; they have, therefore, smooth faces like the women. On account of the lacking beard and the sameness in dressing, it is not easy to distinguish the men from the women. When these savages wish to be good-looking, they paint their cheeks and foreheads red, hang their ears with strings of false beads
of

Annexe 25 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 82

of an ell's length. They wear neither shirts, nor breeches, nor coats beneath their blankets. In their wilderness where they live the young and old go about naked in the summer time. Every autumn they come in large crowds to the city of Philadelphia, bringing with them all sorts of little baskets which they make quite neatly and beautifully, many skins and costly furs. Besides these things they trade off to the Governor, when they are assembled, a tract of land of more than a thousand acres, which is yet all forest. In the name of the country and the city they are annually presented with many things, such as blankets, guns, rum or brandy and the like; on which occasion they make merry with their own strange Indian songs, especially when they are drunk. No one understands their language; some of them who come much in contact with the English, can speak a little English. There are very strong, tall and courageous people among them. In their language they *thou* and *thee* everybody, even the Governor, and they can run as fast as the deer. When you speak to them of the true and everlasting God, the Creator of heaven and earth, they do not understand it, but answer simply: They believe that there are two men, a good one and a bad one; that the good one had made everything

Annexe 26 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 84

thing good, and the bad one had made everything bad; that it was not necessary, therefore, to pray to the good one, as he was doing no one any harm; but the bad one should be prayed to that he might do no one any harm. Of a resurrection of the dead, a salvation, heaven or hell, they know and understand nothing. They bury their dead where they die. I have often been told by truthful people that very old savages that can hardly move any longer, or break down on the way, are simply killed and buried. But if a savage kills another, unless it be in war or on account of old age, whether the murdered was one of our or one of their own people, the murderer must surely die. They take him first to their Indian King to be tried, and thence to the place where the murder was committed, slay him suddenly, bury him on the spot, and cover his grave with much wood and stones. On the other hand, they must likewise be given satisfaction in similar cases, otherwise they would treat an innocent person of our people in like manner.

When the savages come to the city of Philadelphia and see the handsome and magnificent buildings there, they wonder and laugh at the Europeans for expending so much toil and cost on houses. They say that it is quite unnecessary,

Annexe 27 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphia, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 85

The weapon with which these savages shoot is a round bow, in the front centre of which they place a sharp and pointed stone of a finger's length; in the rear it is rather more than an inch wide, and on both sides as sharp as a knife; they aim accurately with it, and when they have wounded a deer which will not fall they run after

Annexe 28 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphia, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 86

Land Pennsylvania.

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after it till they get it, for they can run faster than a horse. In witness of this I have brought such a stone home with me wherewith the Indians, or savages, have shot game. This was their only shooting weapon before they obtained guns from the Europeans.

Annexe 28 bis MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphia, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 87

If a man gets a woman with child, and he marries her, either before or after her confinement, he has expiated his guilt and is not punished by the authorities. But if he will not marry the woman whom he got with child, and she sues him, he must either marry her, or give her a sum of money. But there is no penalty on fornication.

Annexe 29 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 87

On the whole, crimes are punished severely, especially larceny. If any one steals only a handkerchief, a pair of stockings or shoes, or a shirt, or the like things of little value, and suit is brought against him, he is tied to a post in the public market, stripped to the waist, and so terribly lashed with a switch, or a horse- or dog-whip, to which knots are sometimes attached, that patches of skin and flesh hang down from his body. But if such a culprit should subsequently steal again, and were it only an object worth 20 florins, or a horse, short work is made with him. They place him in a cart, drive him beneath the gallows, throw a rope round his neck, hang him up, drive the cart away beneath him, and let him dangle; sometimes the culprit suffers long and dies miserably. For in this country it does not matter who plays the hangman; for 5 pounds or 30 florins any one will do it. During the time while I was there such an

Annexe 30 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 96

ousness of France. And actually, while I write this, it is rumored that the French had made a raid into Pennsylvania in November, 1755, and had taken Lancaster, a surprise rendered easy by the dissensions between the Governor, Mr. Morris, and the Assembly, which latter had refused to vote money for the defense of the country. But according to my humble opinion, Pennsylvania cannot stand a long war; there is nothing for which it is less prepared than a war, especially because so many Quakers are there who will not quarrel or fight with anybody. For this reason no magazines or stores have ever been established and filled with grain and provisions. Hitherto every one has sent his annual surplus products to Philadelphia to be sold there, and from there they are shipped by sea to other provinces;

Annexe 31 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 102

Compared to Europe, Pennsylvania has a very changeable climate; in summer it is often so hot and almost without a breeze that one is near suffocating; and in winter intensely cold spells are quite frequent and come so suddenly that men and beasts, and even the birds in the air are in danger of freezing to death. Fortunately these cold spells are of short duration and are interrupted by a sudden change. There are often in one day three or four kinds of weather: warm, cold, storm and wind, rain or snow, and then fine weather again. Sometimes cyclonic winds and cloudbursts come so suddenly and unexpectedly that it seems as if everything was doomed to destruction. Large fruit and cedar trees are occasionally torn out of the ground together with their roots; now and then even whole tracts of forests are blown down. There are constantly many violent winds in this country, because it is so near the open sea.

In spring the warm weather comes so suddenly that everything grows very fast, and in the beginning of June harvesting has fully begun.

In summer time, no matter how hot it may have been during the day, no one must remain lightly clad in the evening after sunset, on account

It is surprising to hear old Indians or savages complain and say that, since the Europeans came into their country, they were so frequently visited by heavy snow-falls, severe frosts, and torrents of rain, of which they had known nothing before the coming of the Europeans. Whether this is true or not, even the Pennsylvanians ascribe the facts to the Europeans, because these, and especially the Germans, are mostly such fearful swearers.

For this reason a penalty of 5 pounds or 30 florins has recently been fixed throughout Pennsylvania upon every oath uttered in public, in order to check this shocking habit of swearing, both among the English and the Germans. If any one hears another swear, and informs against him, such informer is to have one-half of the imposed fine, or 15 florins; the consequence being that many a one is trying hard to guard against being caught in the act of swearing. On the other hand, many a one has been induced by this law to turn informer for the purpose of earning money. During my sojourn in

Annexe 33 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 104

According to their color the inhabitants of Pennsylvania may be divided into 4 classes. There are, 1. WHITES, *i. e.* Europeans who have immigrated, and natives begotten by European fathers and mothers; 2. NEGROES, *i. e.* blacks brought over as slaves from Africa; 3. MULATERS or MALATERS [mulattoes], *i. e.* such as are begotten by a white father and a black mother, or by a black father and a white mother; these are neither white nor black, but yellowish; 4. DARK-BROWN, these are the savages or Indians, the old inhabitants of the country.

As to the number of people in Pennsylvania, it must be confessed that the female sex in this new country is very fruitful; for people marry young in this land, and many immigrants arrive every year. In Philadelphia or in the country; when one comes into a house, one finds it usually full of children, and the city of Philadelphia is fairly swarming with them. And if one meets a woman, she is either with child, or she carries a child in her arms, or leads one by the hand. Many children are born every year.* Those that are born and brought up in this country grow very fast; they are full-grown at the age of 15, rarely later than 17 or 18 years

* Pennsylvania is said to have 200,000 inhabitants.

Annexe 34 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphia, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 107

hundred florins per acre. Rich Englishmen have already bought up from the Indians all the remote land far and near, where all is as yet wild and wooded, in order to sell it again to the Europeans who are coming to the country. Our German people who emigrate there do not get land enough for nothing upon which to build a cottage. The price of land is increasing from year to year, especially because the English see that so many people, anxious to own farms or plantations, are coming to the country every year.

In South Carolina, which is 200–250 hours distant from Pennsylvania, an acre of land, which is, however, all forest, may be had for 18 or 20 kreuzers. There one has to go 1, 2, 3 and more hours to reach his nearest neighbor, and to travel 2, 3, 4, and even 8 days to reach a town or a church. Carolina is much warmer than Pennsylvania, for it produces rice in abund-

Annexe 35 MITTELBERGER Gottlieb, Gottlieb Mittelberger's journey to Pennsylvania in the year 1750 and return to Germany in the year 1754, Philadelphie, John Jos, Mc Vey, (1ère ed 1756) 1898, (source archive.org), page 107

Annexes partie 3

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Diéreville



A
MONSIEUR
B E G O N
CONSEILLER DU ROY
EN SES CONSEILS,
INTENDANT DE JUSTICE,
POLICE, FINANCES
EN LA GENERALITE'
DE LA ROCHELLE,
ET DE LA MARINE DU PONANT;



MONSIEUR,
Je me trouve engagé autant par
reconnoissance, que par raison, à
̄ 2

Annexe 1 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), Epitre page IV

E P I T R E.

vous dédier la Relation de mon voiage de la nouvelle France. Vous me fites l'honneur de me la demander en Vers, dans le moment que je pris congé de vous pour m'embarquer. Je ne fus pas plutôt dans le Navire, que je ne songeai qu'à satisfaire à ce que vous attendiez de moy, invoquant chaque jour Apollon, pour décrire en son langage tout ce qui m'arrivoit sur le vaste Empire de Neptune. Je ne travaillai jamais, MONSIEUR, sur une matiere si fâcheuse; j'éprouvois sans cesse tout le caprice & toute l'inconstance de cet Element qu'on a si bien nommé Perfide, & je ne fus pas long-téms dessus, je vous l'avouë, sans desirer de tout mon cœur d'en être bien loin.

Annexe 2 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), Epitre page V

E P I T R E.

avancée , je ne laissai pas d'être rendu en cinquante-quatre jours au Port Royal lieu de ma destination.

Ma Muse se mit en devoir

De vous marquer de là son ardeur empressée,

Et par cent traits divers elle vous fit sçavoir,

Tout ce qui se passa pendant la Traversée.

Après cela , j'examinai le Pays que je trouvai bien different de l'idée que je m'en étois formée sur la fausse peinture qu'on m'en avoit faite , & sans changer le langage des Muses , la mienne pour mieux répondre à vôtre attente , en fit la véritable Description , ajoutant toujours quelque chose à la Relation du Pais , & de ses manieres , selon que j'en avois de nouvelles connoissances. Il ne m'y échapa rien qu'on puisse desirer de sçavoir ; j'y passai les quatre saisons de l'année , c'étoit assez pour le connoître , & beaucoup plus qu'il ne falloit pour s'y ennuyer.

Je n'aimois point du tout ce sauvage séjour,

Et malgré les dangers qu'on doit craindre sur l'Onde ,

J'étois le plus joyeux du monde

De me voir sur le point de faire mon retour.

~ ~

Annexe 3 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), Epitre page VI

E vais commencer la Relation de mon Voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle France par un accident qui pensa me faire perir en montant dans le Navire qui devoit me porter. Il étoit à la Rade de la Rochelle à plus de deux lieues de cette Ville, dans laquelle j'attendois le vent favorable pour partir.

A

Annexe 4 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 1

V O Y A G E

Il devint bon le soir du vingt Aoust, mil six cens quatre vingt-dix-neuf. Le Capitaine voulant en profiter, la saison n'étant déjà que trop avancée, m'envoya querir dans la Chaloupe dès la Marée de la nuit. Je sortis de la Rochelle à la porte ouvrante, & j'allai me rendre à la Digue où la Chaloupe m'attendoit : J'entraï dedans, & quoy qu'il y eût six bons Matelots pour la conduire, ils ne laisserent pas de se fatiguer beaucoup, la Mer étant rude. Le Capitaine nous ayant appercûs, & voyant que nous n'étions qu'à un quart de lieuë du Navire, fit lever l'ancre pour ne perdre point de temps : Pendant qu'il faisoit cette manœuvre, nous avancions toujours, & nous arrivâmes bien-tôt au Navire sans beaucoup de peine ; mais que nous trouvâmes de difficulté à l'aborder, quoy qu'il ne fît que floter ! Les vagues qui se formoient entre luy & la Chaloupe, nous en écartoient sans cesse quand nous étions prêts de l'accrocher ; enfin nous en vinmes à bout ; mais nous n'en étions guères mieux ; les mouvemens que le Navire & la Chaloupe prenoient, ne nous donnoient pas le temps de monter à l'échelle : Le Capitaine qui en connoissoit la conséquence pour moy,

D E L' A C A D I E 3

ſçachant bien que je n'avois pas le pied marin , défendit à tous les Matelots de la Chaloupe d'en sortir que je ne fuſſe dans le Navire ; chacun fit de ſon mieux pour m'en donner les moyens , & ne me plaifant point là , j'y apportoſ de mon côté tous mes ſoins : Le Capitaine croyant y reüſſir mieux que les autres , me tendit une corde que je ſaiſis d'abord , & la ſerrant bien fort de peur qu'elle ne m'échappât , je montai ſur le bord de la Chaloupe ; mais je n'y eus pas ſi-tôt les pieds , qu'une vague me l'enleva de deſſous , & je demeurai pendu à la corde fort mal à mon aïſe , & en très-grand danger d'être emporté par une vague , mes pieds touchant à l'eau. Je ne perdis point la tramontane , & ſongeant ſérieuſement à me ſauver du peril où j'étois , j'aperçûs un petit bord de planche , où j'apliquai le bout d'un pied , il me ſervit d'apuy , & à l'aide de mes bras , grimpant le long de la corde , je me mis bien-tôt à portée d'autres bras qui étoient tendus pour me ſecourir , & qui acheverent de me tirer d'affaire.

* V O Y A G E

Les Matelots que j'avois laissez dans la Chaloupe, ne furent pas moins embarraslez que moy pour en sortir, je ne craignois plus rien, & j'eus le plaisir de voir les plus alertes grimper avec autant de peine aux échelles des Haubans, que j'avois fait à une simple corde. Quand je me vis sur le pont du Navire au milieu de vingt-deux hommes d'équipage, je me crûs en sûreté, & je ne songeai qu'à décrire le peril où je venois de me trouver.

Annexe 7 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 4

Dans cet embaras il en survint un autre plus à craindre ; un Navire qui fut chassé sur le nôtre par le vent qui le forçoit , nous fit apprehender qu'en se choquant tous deux , ils ne se brisassent l'un contre l'autre ; mais nôtre Capitaine fort habile homme , fit faire une si bonne manœuvre , & si à propos , qu'il évita le choc , & malgré le mauvais temps il tint toujours la Mer.

Il fit bien , car le vent une heure après changea ,

Et selon nos desirs nôtre Vaisseau vogua.

Dans une pareille disgrâce ,

Il ne faut pas d'abord se rebuter ,

Car à force de tourmenter ,

Le temps change en bonace,

Annexe 8 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besonge, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 6

D E L' A C A D I E .

7

Nous en fîmes l'épreuve , & tout le long du
jour ,

Le vent étant assez propice ,
Les Marelôts après un pénible exercice
Prirent du repos à leur tour.

La nuit ne fut pas moins favorable au Na-
vire ,

Et ne craignant aucun hazard ;

L'Equipage en faisant son quarr ,
N'eut qu'à fumer , chanter & rire.'

Le jour qui la suivit ne fut pas moins sercin ,
L'haleine des vents fut petite ;

Nous n'eûmes que le seul chagrin

De ne pas aller assez vîte.

Annexe 9 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 7

8 V O Y A G E -

A mon reveil je quittois ma cabane ;
Et la Pipe à la main campé sur le Gaillard
Je tirois la vapeur de la Nicotiane ,
Et tranchois du Chevalier Barr.

Il n'y avoit pourtant point de Mouffe
qui ne fçût mieux que moy s'aquitter de
cet exercice , je ne le faisois aussi que par
amusement , & pour me donner des airs
d'homme de Mer : Tout Novice que
j'y étois , je m'abandonnois à la rêverie
où jette d'ordinaire la vapeur de cette
Plante Indienne, & je ne songeois qu'à
confiderer ce qui se passoit entre les
Poissons ; je vis qu'il en étoit d'eux com-
me des hommes sur la terre , les grands
déclaroient la guerre aux petits , loin de
mordre à nos hameçons qui flotoient sur
une eau fort claire.

Annexe 10 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la
Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 8

DE L' A C A D I E.

13

J'étois industrieux à faire mon martire ,
 Enfin après un long & rigoureux ennuy
 Le jour revint , mais il fut encor pire ,
 Bien loin de ramener le beau temps avec luy.
 Helas ! il ne servit qu'à mieux faire pa-
 roître

Tous les dangers que nous courions ;
 C'est ainsi que souvent on demande à con-
 noître ,

Des choses qui seroient peut-être
 Moins cruelles pour nous si nous les igno-
 rions.

Pendant que j'avois tout à craindre de
 la part du temps , pour augmenter ma
 peine , & mettre le comble à nôtre mal-
 heur , on me disoit encore que nous
 étions dans les Mers , où les Pirates de
 Salé faisoient leurs courses , & qu'ils
 étoient pour nous encore plus à redouter
 que les flots & les vents les plus furieux.
 Je vais peut-être trop ingénument avouer
 ma foiblesse , j'en eus peur , nous n'é-
 tions point en état de résister à de telles
 gens , & je fis cette Priere pour la dire
 au Seigneur.

Annexe 11 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la
 Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besonge, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 13

14

V O Y A G E

Grand Dieu , Maître de nos destins ,
Conduis nous dans nôtre Voyage ,
Et garde-nous dans ce Passage
D'être pris par les Saletins.

Dans cette affreuse tourmente, où je
craignois de perir, j'admirois le courage
de tous les Matelots ; ils voyoient sans
cette l'eau passer à grands flots sur le pont
du Navire sans s'en étonner davantage.

Ils n'en témoignoit pas avoir plus de
chagrin ,
Tout au contraire, ils n'en faisoient que rire,
Ce qui me fit une fois dire,
Je trouve un Matelot fait comme un Mé-
decin.

En voicy la raison , la peut-on contredire ?
L'un ne croit son Navire en danger de perir ,
Que dans l'instant fatal qu'il s'abîme dans
l'Onde ,
Et l'autre croit encor son Malade guérir ,
Quand un moment après il est en l'autre
Monde.

DE L'ACADIE. 15
Je passai tout ce jour là sans boire &
sans manger , je n'avois goût pour rien,
les Germous que je voyois manger aux
autres avec beaucoup d'appétit, & que
j'avois trouvez si bons auparavant, étoient
devenus insipides pour moy, & ne me
tentoient point du tout.

Annexe 13 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la
Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 15

Lès Germons qui avoient été comme nous tourmentez de l'orage, étoient dans ce calme fort affamez, & ils mordoient à nos ains d'une grande force : On en prit entre autres trois ou quatre d'une grandeur extraordinaire, & je puis dire sans exagerer, qu'un seul auroit pû suffire à nourrir dans un repas toute une Chartreuse.

A la Pêche on joignit la Chasse,
Un Râle de fort loin vint dans nôtre Vaisseau ;
Il fut pris, & ce fait me parut si nouveau,
Que je crûs qu'il pouvoit tenir icy la place.
Je fis dans ce temps doux une observation
Qu'il faut encore que je décrive,
C'est qu'après de gros vents quoy qu'un
grand calme arrive,
La Mer garde long-temps son agitation.

Annexe 14 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besonge, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 16

Ce jour-là se passa de la sorte , mais sur le soir le vent devint plus frais , & nous fit naviguer agreablement pendant toute la nuit ; ce bonheur ne dura pas plus long-temps , car dès le point du jour le vent changea , & l'ayant entierement contraire , nous n'avancions point du tout. Sur le soir on vit un Navire qui venoit à toutes voiles sur nous le vent en poupe : On crut que c'étoit un Saletin , & nous étions alors allez intriguez , ne pouvant éviter d'être pris par ces Barbares.

Ces Gens-là ne font nul quartier ,
Et donnent trop forte besogne ,
Mais c'étoit un Terreneuvier .
Qui s'en retournoit en Gasco'ne.
R 2

Annexe 15 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besonge, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 17

D E L' A C A D I E 23

J'ay vû la verité de la prédiction ;
 Mais lorsque son pouvoir s'étend sur la
 Marine ,
 Et qu'il desire en Vers une Relation ,
 Du voyage qui me chagrine ,
 Que ne commande-t-il à la Mer trop mutine
 D'avoir moins d'agitation !
 Ne me veut-il que des orages ,
 Des tempêtes , d'horribles vents ,
 Des coups de Mer , & de gros temps
 Pour m'en voir tracer les Images ?
 Helas ! Ils m'ont saisi de mortelles frayeurs ;
 Si nous avions dans ces malheurs ,
 Par le plus grand de tous traversé l'Onde
 noire ,
 En eût-il pû sçavoir l'histoire ?
 Il ne m'auroit fallu qu'un temps un peu trop
 frais ,
 Sur le plus petit mal un Poëte exagere ,
 J'aurois pû pour remplir les injustes sou-
 haits ,
 Faire des ouragans d'un petit vent contraire ,
 Et nous serions tous fati faits.

Annexe 16 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 23

tit à rien. Un autre qui n'étoit pas plus sérieux , pour se défendre de distribuer à ses Camarades quelques coups de sa spiritueuse liqueur , dit que le vent ne deviendrait point bon , qu'on n'eût donné le foïet à un Moufle ; chacun y souscrit , & ce qui fut dit , fut fait. Sans tirer au sort , comme de coûtume en pareille occasion , un de ces malheureux Moufles qui avoit pris quelque chose à un Matelot , fut choisi pour victime , & foïetté un peu plus sévèrement qu'il ne l'auroit été , s'il n'y avoit eu rien contre luy. On uy mit bas sa culotte gaudronnée , &

Annexe 17 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 26

D E L' A C A D I E. 27

on le lia sur le bâton de la Pompe qui luy servoit de Chevalet. Ayant le derriere à l'air , le Pilote luy fit sentir les coups d'un martinet garni de plusieurs cordes toutes neuves , & pleines de nœuds. Aussi-tôt il cria comme un Aigle , demandant pardon , grace & misericorde de tout son cœur. Crie tant que tu voudras , encore plus fort , luy répondit le Fesseur frappant à tour de bras , ce n'est pas là ce qu'il faut que tu dises , il faut crier Nord-Est , bon vent pour le Navire. Comme Pilote il devoit s'interesser au vent plus qu'un autre ; alors le pauvre Patient cria de toute sa force Nord-Est , sans connoître peut-être encore les vents. Dans le même moment on le quitta , & on le laissa aller froter son derriere tant qu'il voulut. Venons au fait , le croira qui voudra , je ne m'arrête point à ces sortes de fadaïses ; mais le vent que l'on souhaitoit , se déclara bien-tôt , & nous en fûmes plus réjouis que s'il étoit venu autrement.

D E L' A C A D I E. 31
de l'eau ; & ce qui marquoit mieux nô-
tre mauvaise fortune , ce fut que le Son-
deur cria terre en tenant le cordeau de
la sonde.

Alors nous fîmes mille cris ,
Pour en marquer nôtre allegresse ,
Mais elle se tourna promptement en tristesse ,
Le pauvre homme s'étoit mépris.
Quand il vit la sonde sans preuve
De ce qu'il avoit avancé ,
Et qu'il ne crut plus être au Banc de Terre-
Neuve ,
Il parut tout honteux de l'avoir anoncé.

Il crut cependant avoir pris justement
ses mesures ; que pouvois-je penser alors ?
si je n'avois pas eu des Pilotes habiles &
experimentez ; je n'aurois point douté
que nous n'eussions mal pris la route , &
que nous errions sur les Mers. Pour
nous chagriner encore davantage, un vent
contraire vint nous faire sentir la fureur.

D E L' A C A D I E.

33

Ma Muse nous devons nous taire ,
Toujours parler des mêmes faits
Sans y parler de nouveaux traits ,
Tel recit n'intéresse guère ;
Mais j'ay de mon Voyage entrepris le
Journal ,
Il faut l'achever bien ou mal.
Si j'étois Maître de la Scene ,
On y verroit plus de variété ,
Tout en seroit mieux écouté ,
Et j'aurois eu bien moins de peine.

Annexe 20 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 33

VOYAGE

Dans ce temps-là il nous survint un accident nouveau des plus à craindre. Nôtre Navire faisoit à moins d'une heure à peu près deux pieds d'eau , c'étoit pour nous faire abîmer bien vîte. On fut d'autant plus surpris de cet inconvenient, que jusques-là le Navire n'avoit point du tout pris d'eau.

On courut à la Pompe , & sans aucun relâche ,

On fit pour la tirer d'inutiles efforts ,

C'étoit des Matelots alors la seule tâche ,

Mais il en rentroit plus qu'ils n'en mettoient dehors.

Nous fûmes tous saisis de crainte & d'épouvante ,

On seroit allarmé pour moins ,

Il fallut prendre d'autres soins

Dans une occasion si triste & si pressante.

Alors le Capitaine homme sage & prudent ,

Sçachant combien tant d'eau pouvoit être fatale ,

Descendit dans le fond de calle ,

Pour voir d'où venoit ce terrible accident.

Mais

On place une Cuve pleine d'eau au milieu du Pont ; trois ou quatre Matelots prennent celui qui doit être baptizé par les jambes & par les bras , & luy trempent le derriere par plusieurs fois dans la Cuve ; enfin ils le laissent malicieusement dedans les pieds en haut , & pendant qu'il se tourne & fait des efforts pour s'en retirer, d'autres Matelots luy jettent encore cinq ou six sceaux d'eau sur le corps , & cette Cérémonie finit par de grands éclats de rire.

Annexe 22 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 40

48 V O Y A G E

Le Soleil les challa par sa vive clarté ,
Et nous vîmes bien-tôt sur un bord écarté
Les Sauvages Côteaux de la Nouvelle France;
Le *Te Deum* à l'instant fut chanté,
Pour en marquer nôtre réjouissance.
C'étoit un spectacle nouveau
Qui dissipoit nôtre tristesse ;
Quoyque des Matelots le chant ne fût
pas beau ,
Je n'entendis jamais avec plus d'allegresse ,
Ny l'illustre Rochois , ny la belle Moreau.

Annexe 23 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besonge, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 48

Je remarquai en eux une action qui m'é-
difia beaucoup ; c'est qu'en se mettant
à table , ils firent dévotement leur Priere ,
& le Signe de la Croix , & en sortant ils
rendirent grace avec la même piété.

Ils portoient à leur col chacun un Chapelier
En maniere de Scapulaire ,
Avec un petit Reliquaire
Cousu dans un morceau de Drap , ou de
Droguet.

Ils avoient reçu le Baptême ,
Leur peché d'origine avoit été lavé
Par un Prêtre d'un zele extrême ,
Que la mort depuis peu leur avoit enlevé.
Par un Signe ils firent comprendre
Qu'ils l'avoient enterré dans un Bois d'a-
l'entour ,

Je voulus dès le même jour
Par curiosité m'y rendre.
Je n'y fus pas si-tôt que je vis son Tombeau ;
Il étoit fait de pieux couverts d'écorce d'arbre ,
Voûté, plus long que rond en forme de berceau,

Nous nous aprochions de la place ,
Si je puis luy donner ce nom ,
Quand par des cris aigus qui sortoient d'un
Dragon ,
On nous fit l'horrible menace
De nous couler à fond par des coups de
Canon.

Ce Dragon étoit un Navire de Roy
qui avoit aporté de Rochefort les Pro-
visions de guerre & de bouche necessai-
res à Plaisance , & au fort de la Ri-
viere Saint Jean ; mais pendant qu'il nous
menaçoit , il avoit plus de peur que nous ;
les Officiers & les Matelots se mirent
tous sous les armes , & voicy pourquoy :
Ils avoient appris par quelques Sauvages
qu'un Forban alloit & venoit sur la Côte ,

Annexe 25 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la
Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besonge, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 57

Dans quel Pays Sauvage, ô Ciel ! suis-j
venu !
Rien ne s'offre à mes yeux que des Bois
des Rivières,
Des Masures & des Chanviers,
De l'état de ces lieux j'étois mieux prevenu
Comment y faire résidence !
Quel image de pauvreté !
Je suis déjà bien sou de la Nouvelle France
Avant que d'en avoir goûté ,
Que j'y vais faire penitence
De la Vieille que j'ay quitté !

Annexe 26 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besonge, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 60

Je fis ma Prière , & après cela Monsieur le Curé me fit entrer dans sa chambre mal meublée , qui est au bout de l'Eglise , y attenant contre l'ordre des Presbiteres. Il me regala de plusieurs sortes de Pommes que je trouvai fort bonnes, quoyque Sauvages. C'est un fort honnête homme qui a beaucoup de mérite & de zele pour ses Paroissiens , & qui fait dans l'Acadie la fonction de Grand-Vicaire de Monseigneur l'Evêque de Quebec. Il m'acompana pour voir une maison que je loüai, elle avoit servi auparavant d'Eglise , c'étoit la plus grande du lieu , elle étoit composée de trois pieces en bas , de greniers dessus , & d'une cave maçonnée sous la piece du milieu. Je trouvai que je serois assez bien logé pour le Pays. Je ne vins pour l'habiter que trois ou quatre jours après mon arrivée , je me

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Annexe 27 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 61

DE L'ACADIE. 63

Deux Rivières dont ce terrain est presque environné ne sont pas un spectacle moins charmant à la vûë. La première qu'on appelle de Dauphin, est large comme la Sene ; elle vient de sept ou huit lieues au-dessus du Port Royal, & des deux côtez il y a des Habitations éloignées plus ou moins les unes des autres. Il y a par endroits d'assez belles prairies le long de son cours. Au-dessous du Port Royal il y a de même encore des Habitations sur cette Rivière, & quelques Courts aussi-bien plantées de Pommiers qu'en Normandie, avec cette différence que ces arbres ne sont pas greffez. Ces Habitations vont presque jusqu'à une Isle qu'on appelle l'Isle aux Chevres, & qui est distante d'une lieue du Port Royal. Au-dessous de cette Isle la Rivière forme le Bassin qui va jusqu'à la Mer ; il a environ deux lieues de long & une de large, il est parfaitement beau, & l'on trouve partout bon mouillage. Deux Redoutes à chaque côté du Passage en pourroient défendre l'entrée qui n'a pas plus de cent-cinquante pas de large. L'autre Rivière qu'on appelle du Moulin, & qui va se répandre dans celle que je viens de marquer, n'a pas plus d'une lieue de long, & est beaucoup plus étroite que

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& qui produit aussi le moins. Le Climat de tous ces lieux est égal à celui de la France., c'est presque le même degré, l'Eté y est aussi chaud, mais l'Hyver y est plus froid. : Il y neige presque toujours dans cette saison, & les vents qui soufflent sont si froids qu'ils gèlent le visage ; on n'ose sortir pendant ces foudrilles, c'est le nom que les Habitans donnent au temps quand il neige & vente.

Annexe 29 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 70

DE L'ACADIE. 73

Dans ce Pays les Habitans
 Se donnant au travail peu de grandes
 fatigues,
 Font à leurs femmes maints enfans,
 Car ils n'ont point d'autres intrigues.
 De la vertu c'est le séjour,
 Elle est bien rare ailleurs dans le temps où
 nous sommes ;
 Les Femmes n'ont rien pour les Hom-
 mes,
 Si l'hymen ne permet l'amour.
 Il leur inspire seul ses amoureuses flâmes,
 Et je puis dire à leur honneur,
 Que la sagesse & la pudeur
 Sans pouvoir sur trop d'autres Femmes,
 Pour regner dans ces lieux ont passé dans
 leurs Ames.
 Un Pere, une Mere chez eux
 Ne gardent pas long-temps une Fille
 nubile ;
 La garde cependant n'en est pas difficile,
 Selon leurs volontez elle regle ses vœux.

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Annexe 30 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la
 Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 73

D E L' A C A D I E **75**

Le Noble dans sa Couche , ou plutôt sa
 Cabane ,
 Pour étendre sa race admet la Païsanne ;
 Et lorsque par un coup fatal ,
 La Parque vient couper le Lien Conjugal ,
 Et que sans nul égard l'Homme Noble elle
 emporte ,
 La Veuve moins sensible à la Mort qu'à
 l'Amour ,
 A son premier état faisant un prompt retour ,
 Reprend un Mary de sa sorte.
 Par cette nouvelle union
 Elle perd le titre de Dame ,
 Pour contenter sa passion ,
 C'est ainsi qu'en fait une Femme.
 C'est sçavoir le secret d'avoir pour Heritiers
 Des Nobles & des Roturiers.
 On voit de même aussi par la Foy Conjugale
 Une Fille de qualité ,
 Plûtôt que de rester Vestale ,
 Avec un Roturier perdre sa dignité &
 Malgré l'Alliance inégale ,
 On veut avoir posterité.

Annexe 31 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 75

Mais c'est la richesse du Pays , quand ils sont en état de travailler , ce qu'ils font de bonne heure ; ils épargnent à leurs Peres des journées d'hommes qui coûtent là vingt-cinq & trente sols , & cela va à une dépense qu'ils ne sçauroient faire.. Il en coûte beaucoup pour accommoder les terres qu'on veut cultiver , celles qu'ils appellent Hautes , & qu'il faut défricher dans les Bois ne sont pas bonnes , le grain n'y leve pas bien , & quelque peine que l'on prenne pour le faire venir par des Engrais dont on a très-peu , on n'y recueille presque rien , & on est quelquefois contraint de les abandonner. Il faut pour avoir des Bleds dessécher les

Annexe 32 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 76

Faisons icy l'Apologie
• De divers Habitans de la vaste Acadie ,
Ma Muse , il faut s'en acquitter ,
Et nous ne sçaurions trop vanter
Leur adresse & leur industrie.
Sans avoir apais de métiers ,
Ils sont en tout bons Ouvriers ,
Il n'est rien dont ils ne s'aquittent ,
Cent besoins divers les excitent
A se donner ce qu'ils n'ont pas ,
De leur laine , ils se font Habits , Bonnets
& Bas.
Ne se distinguant point par de nouvelles
modes ,
Ils portent toujours des Capots ,
Et se font des Souliers toujours plats &
commodes
De peaux de Loups-Marins & de peaux
d'Orignaux.

Annexe 33 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 78

DE L'ACADIE. 79

De leur lin , ils se font encore de la Toille ,
Enfin leur nudité par leur travail se voille.

Quand l'esprit de l'invention

N'opere rien dans leur cervelle ,

A voir seulement un modèle ,

Ils trouvent tout aisé pour l'exécution ;

C'est comme faire un Vers à moy quand j'ay
la rime :

Loin de les rebuter l'ouvrage les anime ,

De mille differens ils sont venus à bout ,

Je n'aurois jamais fait si je décrivois tout.

Pour prouver leurs talents, je vais dire seulement un Ouvrage où j'eus quelque part. Ils n'avoient de leur vie vû construire ny Barque , ny Chaloupe ; & cependant dès qu'ils scûrent que j'avois envie de faire pêcher de la Moruë , pêche qui leur étoit inconnuë jusques alors, ils en construisirent fort bien , & ils entreprirent avec succès de les conduire sur la Mer. Enfin ils entreprirent tous la pêche dans l'attente d'y faire du profit. Je leur donnois par là moyen de gagner mieux leur vie , & moy je trouvois mon compte à prendre leur Poillon. Sur la fin de l'Hyver ils se mirent à faire leurs

Difons encor plus à la gloire
De tous ces Habitans , ils l'ont bien merité ,
Ne finiffons pas leur Hiftoire
Sans y mettre un beau trait de leur fidelité.
Cent fois la Nouvelle Angleterre ,
La plus voifine de leur terre ,
A voulu les foumettre & ranger fous la loy ;
Ils ont plutôt fouffert tous les maux de la
guerre ,
Que de vouloir quitter le parti de leur
Roy.
De tous leurs Bestiaux le carnage ,
De leurs maifons le brûlement ,
Et de leurs meubles le pillage ,
C'étoit des Ennemis le commun traitement.
Dans quel temps marquoient-ils avoir tant de
conftance ?
Dans le temps même que la France

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Ne pouvoit pas les soulager ,
 Et qu'on leur promettoit une entière assistance ,
 S'ils avoient bien voulu changer.
 Ils ne se laissoient point aller à cette amorce ;
 Ils ne vouloient point être Anglois ,
 Et de tout leur courage ils défendoient leurs droits ;
 Contraints de ceder à la force ,
 Tous vaincus qu'ils étoient , ils demeuroient François.

Les Anglois s'étant enfin rendus maîtres de leur Patrie, établissoient des Gouverneurs qui leur procuroient tout ce qui leur étoit nécessaire , tant pour la vie , que pour le vêtement ; mais ne pouvant avec tout cela gagner leurs cœurs , & ne se trouvant pas trop en sûreté avec eux , ils se retiroient , & abandonnoient la partie.

C'est ainsi qu'avec fermeté
 Leur zele pour Louïs s'est toujours fait connoître ;
 Que de Peuples réduits à leur extrémité ,

Annexe 36 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongé, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 82

DE L'ACADIE. 83

Pour être plus heureux auroient changé de
Maître !

Le repos & la liberté ,
Dont depuis un long-temps sous la France
ils jouissent ,

Peut-être bien les affermissent

A luy garder toujours tant de fidélité.

Mais lorsque de l'autre côté ,

Je regarde le bien qu'ils en pouvoient
attendre ,

Et que malgré leur pauvreté ,

Ils n'ont jamais voulu s'y rendre ,

Quand l'intérêt sur l'Homme a tant d'au-
torité ,

Et qu'on en voit peu s'en défendre ;

Je croy que pour leur Prince un amour pur
& tendre ,

Sur l'attrait du profit l'a toujours emporté :

Leur mérite est plus grand , & je ne puis
comprendre

Comment ils ont tant résisté.

Dans un si grand Pays où le Com-
merce devoit être ouvert à tous pour
l'établir , pas un Habitant n'ose négocier ,

Nous n'avons en cela jamais fait de jaloux,
Ce n'est point là notre genie,
En matiere de Colonie,
Les autres l'emportent sur nous.
Voyons la Nouvelle Angleterre,
Bâton pour le Commerce aujourd'huy sans
égal,
Qui trafique sans cesse avec toute la Terre,
Eroit moins autrefois que n'est le Port Royal.
Qui

Annexe 37 bis : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 84

S'ils commerçoient, ils ne feroient pas si oisifs pendant la plus grande partie de l'année ; car après avoir ensemencé leurs terres & fait la recolte, ils n'ont presque rien à faire, par bonheur l'intervalle est petit entre ces deux saisons ; au commencement du Printemps on sème les Grains, & sur la fin de l'Eté on moissonne. Ce n'est pas comme en France où l'on sème ordinairement dans le mois d'Octobre, pour ne recueillir que dans le mois d'Aoust suivant. Les Bleds

Annexe 38 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 86

90 V O Y A G E

Parlons de ce que les Acadiens aiment mieux , & dont ils font ordinairement leur nourriture. Ils sont assez difficiles dans leur manger , ils choisissent leurs viandes , quoyque ce ne soit pas toujours des plus délicates dont ils usent ; rien ne leur semble si bon que le lard , & sans s'en rebuter , ils en mangent deux fois par jour , ils le preferent aux Perdrix & aux Lapins , dont on trouve beaucoup dans les Bois ; aussi ne leur font-il la Chasse que pour les vendre.

Je ne m'en trouvois pas trop mal ,
 Ce qui déplaît à l'un , est à l'autre agreable ,
 Les Perdrix me sembloient d'un fumer admirable ,
 Et souvent à vil prix j'en faisois mon regal.
 Je les trouvois enfin bien meilleures qu'en
 France ,
 Celles d'Auvergne & d'Angoumois
 Ne sont pas à mon goût d'une telle excellence ,
 Et si j'avois à faire choix
 Dans un festin entre les trois ,
 Celle de l'Acadie auroient la préférence.

Je pardonnois alors aux Habitans de n'en point faire leurs ragoûts ; ils ne sont jamais si bons que ceux de France , & ils diffèrent d'eux encore , en ce qu'ils ont les oreilles & la queue plus courtes , & qu'ils ne sont pas si grands. Mais je ne pouvois excuser ces Gens-là de ne pas aimer le Veau , ny l'Agneau ; on n'en voit jamais paroître sur leurs tables , ils les laissent devenir Bœufs & Moutons. Ils jettent de ces derniers la tête , les pieds , les rognons & la fressure à leurs cochons les plus nombreuses de leurs bêtes , & les rîpes mêmes des Bœufs n'en sont pas exemptes ; mais la chair de cochon étant leur favorite , je ne m'étonnois pas de les voir donner à ces animaux , ce que les hommes mangent bien ailleurs.

Ils regardent les Champignons ,

Comme le plus grand des Poisons ,

96 V O Y A G E

Ils ne feront par là jamais leurs femmes
veuves ;

Je passois cet article , ils avoient leurs
raisons ,

Trop de Gens en ont fait de fâcheuses
épreuves ,

Pour moy , je les trouvois fort bons.

J'en mangeois tout mon sou sans être malade,
Avec quelque pitié chacun me regardoit ;

Ils n'aiment pas plus la Salade ,

Et tout cela m'accommodoit.

A l'exception des Artichaux & des
Asperges , ils ont en abondance toutes
sortes de legumes , & tous excellens. Ils
ont des champs couverts de Choux pom-
mez , & de Navets qu'ils conservent
toute l'année. Ils mettent les Navets à
la cave , ils sont moëlleux & sucrez , &
beaucoup meilleurs qu'en France ; aussi
les mangent-ils comme des Marons cuits
dans les cendres. Ils laissent les Choux
dans le champ après les avoir arrachez ,
la tête en bas & la jambe en haut : la
neige qui vient les couvrir de cinq ou six
pieds



A Chasse est leur soin le plus
grand ,
Ils y sont occupez sous peine de
la vie ,
Car s'ils n'atrapent rien lorsque la faim les
prend ,
De la mort elle peut souvent être suivie.
Ils résistent long-temps à ses pressans besoins
Par une grande accoutumance ,
Il semble que la Providence
Qui pour leur entretien les partagea le moins,
Prenne pour eux en récompense
Les bons & salutaires soins

Annexe 42 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 119

Je vais commencer leurs Exploits de
Chasse par un coup qui me surprit ex-
trêmement , ce qui ne surprendra peut-
être pas moins ceux qui l'apprendront. .

Un Sauvage allant à la Chasse
Avec ses Compagnons de son fusil armé ,
Et passant sur un peu de glace
Que sur un vaste Lac l'hiver avoit formé ,
S'arrêta .

Annexe 43 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la
Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 120

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entre la glace & la terre , sur laquelle ils se couchent sur le ventre ; mais en vain tâchent-ils par là de s'exempter de la mort ; les Chasseurs font guêter leurs Chiens tout au tour du Lac , & ils ont si bon nez , qu'ils ne manquent point à les sentir où ils sont , & ils en marquent les endroits en s'y arrêtant : Alors on y casse la glace à grands coups de hache ; les Castors , chose assez surprenante , ne fuyent point comme ailleurs le bruit qu'on y fait : Quand les trous sont faits , on découvre les animaux , on les prend par la queue , on les tire dehors , & on leur casse la tête à coups de hache.

Décrivons la cabanne des Castors , & faisons voir qu'ils savent la bâtir avec autant d'adresse que les hommes font des maisons ; ils la construisent ordinairement quand ils sont accouplez , & qu'ils veulent faire leurs petits , & ils la placent toujours dans l'eau , sans qu'il en penetre une goutte dans son creux : elle est faite comme un four dont la voûte est toujours hors de l'eau ; il n'entre dans sa structure que de la terre glaise & du bois verd ; mais leur industrie est admirable pour mettre en œuvre ces matériaux.

Annexe 44 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 129

Le Mariage se fait sans y apporter
beaucoup de ceremonie , le Pere & la
Mère de la Fille luy disent seulement
Suis-ce Garçon, c'est ton Mary.

Ils s'en vont dans les Bois ensemble ,

Et passent la nuit & le jour

A faire comme bon leur semble ,

La Chasse & l'amour tour à tour,

Annexe 45 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la
Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 138

DE L'ACADIE. 139

Ils reviennent quelques jours après ,
du Gibier qu'ils ont attrapé , on fait
in où chair & poisson ne manquent pas ;
y convie les Sauvages de la contrée ,
la nôce se fait avec beaucoup d'al-
resse.

Le Mariage se fait en face de l'Eglise
and les Amans n'en sont pas éloignez.
; sont presentement assez bien in-
uits sur leurs devoirs , pour sçavoir que
is cette ceremonie , rien ne l'autorise ,
j'en ay vû venir de bien loin recevoir
Sacrement du Curé du Port Royal ,
même j'ay vû que ceux qui étoient
ariez à la Sauvage , renouvelloient leur
lariage au pied de nos Autels. Quoi-

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que la ceremonie fût des plus saintes, je ne pouvois m'empêcher d'en rire ; le Curé qui n'entendoit point le Sauvage, & qui ne le parloit pas mieux, avoit pour Interprete un de ses Paroissiens qui l'entendoit & le parloit fort bien : Il luy disoit en François tout ce qu'il pouvoit de plus beau sur l'excellence & les devoirs du mariage ; l'Interprete repetoit en Sauvage la même chose aux futurs Epoux qui en paroissoient charmez par leurs démonstrations, & il leur demandoit après le Curé, s'ils ne suivroient pas de point en point tout ce qu'il leur enseignoit ; ils en faisoient la promesse en leur langage, & il l'interpretoit en bon François, en rendoit témoignage au Curé, qui enfin jusqu'au *conjungo* observoit la même maniere.

Annexe 46 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 140

Le premier Gibier qu'un Enfant tuë à la Chasse donne encore lieu à un grand festin ; la famille s'assemble, & tous les Sauvages de la contrée sont conviez à cette Fête : S'ils couroient les Bois, on attendroit leur retour pour la celebrer, & pendant ce temps-là, on feroit boucaner le Gibier pour le mieux conserver. On observe à ces festins une cérémonie assez particuliere, les parens du jeune Chasseur & luy-même ne goûtent point de ce Gibier, ils se font honneur de le partager à toute la Compagnie, quelque petit qu'il soit. On observe encore de le mettre le dernier dans la chaudiere; car là point de Rôty, tout est boüilli. On y mange tout son sou, ou plutôt on devore, & on ne s'arrête de temps en temps que pour faire à l'honneur du Chasseur des cris & des chants d'allégresse. Tout ce qu'il tuë de Gibier pendant sa plus grande jeunesse est donné

Annexe 47 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 146

DE L'ACADIE. 147
 aux autres pour faire voir son adresse &
 son courage , il n'est pas si liberal de
 ses captures , quand il est bon à marier.

L'espoir de commander dont il se sent flaté ,
 L'anime à bien faire à la Chasse ,
 Car c'est par cette habileté
 Que l'on peut parvenir à la plus haute
 place ;
 On n'a point là d'hérédité
 Par droit de naissance ou de race ,
 C'est le mérite seul qui peut être exalté.
 Lorsque quelqu'un parvient à ce degré su-
 blime ,
 Ou chacun aspire à se voir ,
 On ne l'en fait jamais déchoir
 Que par quelque exécrable crime.
 Dans ce rend élevé , les honneurs qu'on luy
 rend ,
 Ne sont pas fort considerables ,
 Il n'est que le premier d'un cent de misé-
 rables ,
 Ou plus , ou moins , selon que son canton
 est grand.

Annexe 48 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 147

J'ay vû l'un de ces Chefs des Sauvages qu'on apelle Sagaino , venir au fort de la Riviere Saint Jean recevoir les presens que la France leur envoie. Mais décrivons ce fort avant que de dire ce que je remarquai à l'égard des honneurs qu'on rendit à ce Sagaino ou Chef des Sauvages. Il n'est fait que de terre avec quatre bastions fraisez , & garnis chacun de six gros canons.

Cependant il a sçû dans la derniere guerre ,
Avec cent hommes seulement ,
Se battant vigoureusement ,
Rendre vains les efforts de la fiere Angleterre ,

Ce Chef dont j'ay commencé à parler , étoit le petit fils d'un Sauvage ennobli par Henry IV. pour avoir chassé les

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Sauvages Anglois de sēs Etats. Rien ne le distinguoit de ceux de sa Troupe, ny dans sa mine, ny dans son habit, il étoit de médiocre taille, & il falloit que tout son mérite fût dans son cœur où dans sa tête. Dès qu'il fut entré dans le Fort, je remarquai qu'après de certains complimens qu'il fit aux Officiers, & que je n'entendis pas sans beaucoup de cérémonie, il s'assit, observant cependant une grave contenance, pendant que ceux de sa Compagnie qui étoient vingt ou trente, restoient debout arangez tout autour de la Sale où l'on les recevoit. Ce

Annexe 50 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 149

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C'est un grand bien pour eux , ils faisoient
trop de maux ,

Quand ils pouvoient traiter quelque pot
d'Eau de vie ,

Toujours en la beuvant ils devenoient
brutaux ,

Ils entroient comme en fîénéfie.

Plus animaux que ceux qui remplissent leurs
corps ,

Une Liqueur si chaude & si spiritueuse ,
Excitoit dans leurs cœurs la fureur amou-
reuse ,

Et le Frere & la Sœur dans les mêmes
transports ,

Ensemble contentoient leur passion honteuse
Mais privez de cette liqueur ,

Par des Ordres contre eux sévères ,
Et d'ailleurs mieux instruits par nos Mis-
sionnaires ,

Qui d'un peché si grand leur ont fait voir
l'horreur ,

Et leur ont enseigné nos plus sacrez Misteres.

Annexe 51 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besonge, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 156

DE L'ACADIE. 157
Venons à la guerre des Sauvages , elle
est ordinairement entre des Nations op-
posées , comme les Sauvages Anglois , &
les Sauvages François , & quelquefois
entre les Sauvages d'une même Nation.

Lorsque les Sagaino se trouvent insultez ,
Par des maltraitemens , par des hostilités ,
Qu'exerce en leur Pays la Nouvelle An-
gleterre ,
Ils assemblent leurs Gens pour luy faire la
guerre.

Pour les mieux animer ils leur font un
Discours ,
Où la Sauvage Rethorique
Employe tous ses plus beaux tours ;
Il est fort , il est patetique ,
Le Prélude est toujours à la gloire du Roy ,
Dont ils étalent la puissance ,
Et font voir qu'écrans nez les Sujets de la
France ,
Ils doivent se faire une loy
De prendre par tout sa défense.

○

Annexe 52 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la
Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 157

158 V O Y A G E

Ces Sagaino inspirant ce noble dessein à ceux qu'ils gouvernent ; car chacun a son distric , & ses Gens levent la hache , & demandent à tous , s'ils ne veulent pas comme eux la mettre en main.

Alors d'une voix unanime

La Troupe à ce Discours souscrit , & se debat ,

Et l'un contre l'autre s'escrime ,

Comme s'ils étoient au combat.

C'est de leur consentement la marque ordinaire , mais il n'est pas toujours besoin qu'ils souffrent les maux d'une telle guerre pour se mettre en état de défense. Sur le moindre soupçon qu'ils ont d'une guerre à arriver , ils ont aussitôt recours à leurs Jongleurs pour en être certainement informez , afin de n'être pas surpris , & de se tenir prêts à repousser leurs ennemis.

Mais expliquons la Jonglerie ,

Ce terme pourroit bien embarrasser quelqu'un ,

C'est une pure diablerie ,

DE L'ACADIE. 159.

Car parler au Demon, ou Jongleur, c'est
tout un,

De ces Hôtes des Bois c'est l'Oracle com-
mun.

Ils n'entreprennent point une affaire impor-
tante,

Que sur cette matiere il n'ait sçu s'expli-
quer,

La maniere de l'invoquer

Vous paroîtra fort étonnante.

Dans un endroit du Bois assemblez à l'écart,

Evitant du Soleil la brillante lumiere ;

Ils font les fonctions de leur diabolique art,

Et voicy quelle est leur maniere.

Le Sauvage choisi pour être le Jongleur,

Fait des contorsions, des grimaces hor-
ribles,

Enfin elles sont si terribles,

Que le Demon luy-même en devroit avoir
peur.

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Annexe 54 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 159

160 . . . V O Y A G E

Ses yeux étincelans luy rouïlent dans la tête ,
Il tire un pied de langue écumant comme
un Chien ,

Et cet enragé ne s'arrête
Qu'au moment désiré que le Demon s'a-
prête

A luy pronostiquer , ou le mal , ou le bien,
A vant que le Demon s'explique ,
Et qu'il fasse entendre sa voix ,
Tout tremble , tout se brise en cet en-
droit du Bois ,
Se fait-il autrement un fracas diabolique !
La Troupe entend tout ce qu'il dit ,
Elle est alors fort attentive ,
Et ne doute point qu'il n'arrive
Ce que le Demon luy prédit.

Je ne voulus rien voir de tout cela ,
& j'avois beaucoup de peine à le croire ,
ne m'arrêtant point aux superstitions ;
cependant je vais raconter une aventure
qui se passa dans le temps que j'étois dans

Diéreville p 162

Continuons les superstitions des Sauvages. Leur Dieu étoit autrefois le Soleil, qu'ils appellent Nichekaminou, & qui veut dire en leur langage le très-Grand; ils le remercioient du bien qu'il leur faisoit, & suplioient le Demon qu'ils

Annexe 56 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 162

Il en est cependant beaucoup entre les Sauvages, qui quoique bien amoureuses, se privent long-temps des plaisirs qu'elles goûtent avec leurs Maris, regardant comme des Concubines celles qui ont beaucoup d'Enfans.

Des sottes superstitions des Sauvages, passons à une de leurs plus belles & loüa-

Annexe 57 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 165

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bles qualitez ; c'est leur amour pour l'hospitalité , ils se secourent entr'eux de tout leur pouvoir ; si quelqu'un a des vivres , il ne manque jamais de les partager avec ceux qui n'en ont pas , & qui en souffrent. Un Sauvage se verroit mourir de faim , qu'il ne voudroit pas manger seul une Cercelle qu'il auroit tuée , & qui pourroit luy rendre la vie , il la porteroit à la Cabanne où il scauroit que d'autres en auroient besoin comme luy , & chacun en auroit sa part. Lors qu'un d'eux en va visiter un autre , celui qui reçoit la visite , ne demande point à l'autre ce qui l'amene , il commence par luy donner à manger , après cela ils parlent d'affaires s'ils en ont , c'est leur maniere ; & voicy la raison qui les engage à en user de la sorte : Ils disent que si on demandoit d'abord ce que l'on veut , on n'auroit plus qu'à s'en aller quand on l'auroit dit , & qu'on y auroit répondu. Quand ils chassent plusieurs de compagnie , celui qui tuë une Bête , content de son adresse & de l'honneur qui luy en revient , il l'abandonne à ses Compagnons , qui par un genereux retour en la partageant entr'eux , luy en font toujours la meilleure part.

Annexe 57 bis : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 166

Quoique les Sauvages vivent dans les
 Bois avec les Bêtes , ils ne laissent pas
 d'avoir beaucoup d'honnêteté. Un Frere
 devant sa Sœur ne dira jamais un mot
 qui puisse choquer en rien sa pudeur :
 Un démenty seroit la plus cruelle des
 offenses , & le Pere & la Mere ne le
 regarderoient plus que comme un indi-
 gne Frere , & luy en marqueroient sans
 cesse avec aigreur leur mécontentement ;
 aussi est-il toujours fort sage , & son
 respect pour sa Sœur va à un excès qui
 va vous étonner. S'il se sentoît pressé,
 mais vous le dirai-je ? d'un vent , ma-
 tiere facile à s'échaper , il aimeroit mieux
 crever que de le faire entendre. Je vais
 vous dire sur ce sujet une aventure
 fort particuliere.

Annexe 58 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la
 Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 168

Parlons d'une chose qu'ils regardent encore comme un ornement. Ils se font marquer sous la peau en divers endroits du corps, & même du visage ; mais il faut qu'ils s'arment d'une grande patience, & d'un grand courage : On est long-temps à le faire, & ils souffrent beaucoup à l'endurer. Quelques François en ont fait l'épreuve, qui pourroient en rendre témoignage : Pour moy je n'ay pas été curieux de porter de telles marques. Elles se font avec du Ver-

Annexe 59 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 175

Revenons aux Sauvages qui se guérissent de la mort même ; Quel Paradoxe , dira-t-on ! Mais je le prouve Ces pauvres Gens sont sujets à se noyer & cela n'arrive que trop souvent dans leurs Canots d'écorce qui virent pour la moindre chose. Ceux qui s'échappent heureusement du naufrage , s'empressent retirer de l'eau ceux qui y sont demeurés ; ils remplissent de fumée de Tabac une pance d'animal , ou un gros & long boyau , leurs vaisseaux ordinaires pour conserver leurs huiles de Poisson , ou de Loup Marin ; après cela ils appliquent un des bouts , l'autre étant bien lié , un bout de calumet ou de Pipe pour servir de Canule qu'ils introduisent dans le derrière des Noyez , pour leur faire rece-

Annexe 60 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 190

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voir la fumée contenuë dans le boyau , en le comprimant avec les mains : Ils les pendent ensuite par les pieds au plus prochain arbre qu'ils trouvent , ils les y observent , & ils ont presque toûjours le plaisir de voir que ce Lavement de vapeur leur fait rendre toute l'eau qu'ils ont prise , & leur remet la vie au corps ; ils reconnoissent ce surprenant & salutaire effet par des gambillemens que les Pendus ne sont pas long-temps à faire. N'oubliez pas ce divin remede assuré par mille experiences, sa vertu dans l'occasion n'opéreroit pas moins dans vos amis , que dans les Sauvages.

Annexe 61 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 191

DE L'ACADIE 197

On côté de Quebec habitent les Papi-nachois, les Saguenets, les Algonquins, les Iroquois, les Hurons, les Loups, les Socokis bons & mauvais pour la France. Les meilleurs sont les Outaois, mais Nation plus reculée. Vers le Nord sont les Esquimos, les Christinaux, les Sauteurs, les Savanois, les Pla-côtez des Chiens, & les Assenciboils. Quels noms ? Je croy que le Diable les a forgez ; il faut pourtant en repeter quelques-uns, pour marquer ce qu'il y a de particulier en eux.

Commençons par les Algonquins, c'est la Nation la plus brave & la plus belliqueuse qu'il y ait parmi les Sauvages. Ils sont ordinairement en guerre avec les Iroquois qui les regardent comme leurs plus formidables ennemis, & par qui ils ont toujours été vaincus. Ils n'ont point de lieu arrêté, étans toujours errans dans les Bois, tantôt d'un côté, tantôt de l'autre. Ils ne cultivent point la terre comme d'autres qui font du Maïs ou Bled d'Inde : Ils disent que ces soins n'appartiennent qu'à des Ames baïles & serviles, & que de Grands Guerriers qui savent triompher de leurs ennemis & attaquer les Bêtes les plus terroces, ne doivent vivre que de celles qu'ils

Et

Annexe 62 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 197

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Tous Barbares qu'ils sont, ils ne laissent pas d'attirer à eux de Québec de la Jeunesse de tout sexe que son mauvais penchant entraîne au mal ; les Garçons y deviennent pires que les Iroquois mêmes, & c'est ce qui les y fait bien recevoir, autrement ils n'y trouveroient pas leur compte. En vain leurs parens les rappellent, ces Renegats ne retournent point à eux, ils leurs préfèrent les Iroquois.

Les Filles qui sont libertines

Les trouvent grands, bien faits, propres
pour leurs plaisirs,

Et sans s'éfaroucher de leurs horribles
mines,

Elles vont avec eux assouvir leurs desirs.

La taille, la vigueur plurent toujours aux
Femmes,

Et sans aller si loin nous les voyons plus
prés ;

Combien est-il icy de Dames,

Qui préfèrent de grands & vigoureux
Laquais

A de petits Maris fluets ?

Les Esquimos ne se donnent point la peine de faire cuire leurs viandes comme les autres , ils les mangent toutes crues. On croit que ces Sauvages ont été engendrez par les premiers Basques qui se sont perdus à la Pêche de la Baleine ; cela pourroit bien être , car ils ont conservé quelque chose de leur patois , ne faisant que bredouiller quand ils parlent. Lors qu'ils sont pris d'une courrouche sur la Mer qui est courrou-

Annexe 64 : DIEREVILLE, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France*, Rouen, J-B Besongne, 1708 (source : Gallica.bnf.fr), page 204

Annexes partie 4

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John Josselyn

Annexe 1

The political and theological opinions of Josselyn were not in accordance with those generally received in the Colonies, particularly in the later years of his life. On this subject, Prof. Tuckerman, in his Introduction to the work last mentioned, remarks that, " In the account of his first voyage, there is no appearance of that dislike to the Massachusetts

Annexe 1: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), Préface de l'éditeur page VI

Annexe 2

Publisher's Preface.

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Massachusetts government and people which is observable in the narrative of the second; and may there not unfairly be connected with his brother's political and religious differences with Massachusetts." There is sufficient evidence in this work to show that the sympathies of the author were enlisted in the royal cause, and there appears to be little ground for admitting his supposed complicity in the fruitless insurrection in the north of England in 1663, or his identity with the " Capt. John Jossline " mentioned by the late Rev. Joseph Hunter in his account of the family.

Annexe 2 : JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), Préface de l'éditeur page VII

Annexe 3

Anno 1663. May the Three and twentieth, I went down to Gravesend, it being Saturday I lay athore till Monday the fifth, about 11 a clock at night, I went aboard the Society belonging to Boston in the Massachusetts a Colony of English in New-England, of 200 and 20 Tun, carrying 16 Iron Guns most unserviceable, man'd with 33 failers, and 77 passengers, men, women and children.

The Six and twentieth day, about 6 of the clock in the morning we weighed Anchor, and fell down with the tide three or four miles below Gravesend.

The Seven and twentieth in the afternoon, we weighed Anchor and came into the Hope before Deal-Castle, here we were wind bound till

Annexe 3: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 31

The 30 day, we set sail out of the *Downs*, being *Saturday* about 9 of the clock in the morning, about 4 of the clock in the afternoon we came up with *Beachy* by *W.* at *Nore*.

The One and thirtieth at 4 of the clock in the morning we came up with the Isle of *Wight*, at 4 of the clock in the afternoon [p. 36.] we had *Portland* N. N. W. of us, 6 leagues off, the wind being then at *N. W. by N.* at 5 of the clock we came to *Dartmouth*, the wind *W. S. W.*

June the first day, being *Monday* about 4 of the clock *Plimouth* was about 9 leagues off, our course *W. S. W.* the Start bore North distant about 6 leagues from whence our reckonings began; the wind now *E. N. E.* a fair gale.

The second day the *Lizard* bore *N. N. W.* in the latitude 51. 300 leagues from *Cape-Cod* in *New England*, our course *W.* and by *S.* One of our passengers now dyed of a Consumption.

The Fifth day we steered *S. W.* observed and found the ship in latitude 47 degrees, and 44 minutes.

The Tenth day observed and found the ship in latitude 49 degrees, and 24 minutes.

The Five and twentieth day, about 3 of the clock in the morning we discovered land, about 6 of the clock *Flowers*, so called from abundance of flowers, and *Corvo* from a multitude of *Crowes*; two of the *Azores* or western Islands, in the *Atlantique Ocean* not above 250 leagues from *Lisbon* bore *N. W.* of us some 3 leagues off, we steered away *W.* by *W.* observed and found *Flowers* to be in the Southern part in latitude 39 [p. 37.] degrees 13 minutes, we descryed a Village and a small Church or Chappel seated in a pleasant valley to the Easter-side of the

Two Voyages to New-England.

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the Island, the whole Island is rockie and mountanious about 8 miles in compafs, ftored with Corn, Wine and Goats, and inhabited by outlaw'd *Portingals*, the Town they call *Santa Cruz*. *Corvo* is not far from this, I fup-pofed two or three leagues, a meer mountain, and very high and fteep on all fides, cloathed with tall wood on the very top, uninhabited, but the *Flowreans* here keep fome number of Goats.

The Seven and twentieth day, 30 leagues to the weftward of thefe Islands we met with a fmall Veffel ftoln from *Jamaico*, but 10 men in her, and thofe of feveral nations, *English*, *French*, *Scotch*, *Dutch* almoft famifh'd, having been out as they told us, by reafon of calms, three moneths, bound for *Holland*.

July the fixth, calm now for two or three dayes, our men went out to fwim, fome hoifted the *Shallop* out and took divers Turtles, there being an infinite number of them all over the Sea as far as we could ken, and a man may ken at Sea in a clear Air 20 miles, they floated upon the top of the water being a fleep, and driving gently upon them with the *Shallop*, of a fudden [p. 38.] they took hold of their hinder legs and lifted them into the boat, if they be not very nimble they awake and prefently dive under water; when they were brought aboard they fob'd and wept exceedingly, continuing to do fo till the next day that we killed them, by chopping off their heads, and having taken off their fhells (that on their back being faireft, is called a Gally patch) we opened the body and took out three hearts in one cafe, and (which was more ftrange) we perceived motion in the hearts ten hours after they were taken out. I have obferved in *England* in my

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youthful

youthful dayes the like in the heart of a *Pike*, and the heart of a *Frog*, which will leap and skip as nimbly as the *Frog* used to do when it was alive from whom it was taken. Likewise the heart of a *Pig* will stir after it is exenterated. Being at a friends house in *Cambridg-shire*, the Cook-maid making ready to slaughter a *Pig*, she put the hinder parts between her legs as the usual manner is, and taking the snout in her left hand with a long knife she stuck the *Pig* and cut the small end of the heart almost in two, letting it bleed as long as any bloud came forth, then throwing of it into a Kettle of boyling water, the *Pig* swom twice round about the kettle, when taking of it out to [p. 39.] the dresser she rub'd it with powdered *Rosen* and stript off the hair, and as she was cutting off the hinder pettito, the *Pig* lifts up his head with open mouth, as if it would have bitten: well, the belly was cut up, and the entrails drawn out, and the heart laid upon the board, which notwithstanding the wound it received had motion in it, above four hours after; there were several of the Family by, with my self, and we could not otherwayes conclude but that the *Pig* was bewitched; but this by the way. Of the Sea Turtles there be five sorts, first the Trunk-turtle which is biggest, Secondly, the Loggerhead-turtle. Thirdly, the Hawkbill-turtle, which with its bill will bite horribly. Fourthly, the Green-turtle which is best for food, it is affirmed that the feeding upon this Turtle for a twelve moneth, forbearing all other kind of food will cure absolutely Consumptions, and the great pox; They are a very delicate food, and their Eggs are very wholesome and restorative, it is an *Amphibious* Creature going ashore, the male throws the female on her back when he couples with her.

Annexe 6 : JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 34

other of our passengers, in hope to get to *Boston* that night; but the Master of the *Ketch* would not consent.

The Eight and twentieth being *Tuesday*, in the morning about 5 of the clock he lent us his *Shallop* and three of his men, who brought us to the western end of the town where we landed, and having gratified the men, we repaired to an Ordinary (for so they call their Taverns there) where we were provided with a liberal cup of burnt Madera-wine, and store of plum-cake, about ten of the clock I went about my Affairs.

Before I pursue my Voyage to an end, I shall give you to understand what Countrie *New-England* is. *New-Eng-*

Annexe 7: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 36

red-clay, gravel, fand, loom, and very deep in some places, as in the valleys and fwamps, which are low grounds and bottoms infinitely thick set with Trees and Bufhes of all forts for the most part, others having no other shrub or Tree growing, but spruse, under the shades whereof you may freely walk two or three mile together; being goodly large Trees, and convenient for masts and sail-yards. The whole Countrie produceth springs in abundance replenished with excellent waters, having all the properties ascribed to the best in the world.

*Swift is't in pace, light poiz'd, to look in clear,
And quick in boiling (which esteemed were)
Such qualities, as rightly understood
Withouten these no water could be good.*

One Spring there is, at Black-point in the Province of Main, coming out of muddy clay that will colour a spade, as if hatcht with silver, it is purgative and cures scabs and Itch, &c.

The mountains and Rocky Hills are richly furnished with mines of Lead, Silver, [p. 45.] Copper, Tin, and divers forts of minerals, branching out even to their summits, where in small Crannies you may meet with threds of perfect silver; yet have the *English* no maw to open any of them, whether out of ignorance or fear of bringing a forraign Enemy upon them, or (like the dog in the manger) to keep their Sovereign from partaking of the benefits, who certainly may claim an interest in them as his due, being eminently a gift proceeding from
 Ifa. 45. 3. divine bounty to him; no person can pretend interest in Gold, Silver, or Copper by the law of Nations,
 but

In *Anno Dom.* 1667. *March*, appeared a sign in the Heavens in the form of a Sphear, pointing directly to the *West*: and in the year following on the third day of *April* being *Friday*, there was a terrible Earthquake, before that a very great one in 1638. and another in 58 and in 166 $\frac{2}{3}$. *January* 26, 27, & 28. (which was the year before I came thither) there were Earthquakes 6 or 7 times in the space of three dayes. Earthquakes are frequent in the Countrie; some suppose that the white mountains were first raised by Earthquakes, they are hollow as may be gueessed by the resounding of the rain upon the level on the top. The *Indians* told us of a River whose course was not only stopt by an Earthquake in 1668. (as near as I can remember) but the whole River swallowed up. And I have heard it reported from credible persons, that (whilst I was there in the Countrie) there happened a terrible Earthquake amongst the *French*, rending a huge Rock asunder even to the center, wherein was a vast hollow of an immeasurable depth, out of which came many infernal Spirits. I shall [p. 59.] conclude this discourse of Earthquakes, with

Annexe 9 : JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 48

The plants in *New-England* for the variety, number, beauty, and vertues, may stand in Competition with the plants of any Countrey in Europe. *Johnson* hath added to *Gerard's Herbal* 300. and *Parkinson* mentioneth many more ; had they been in *New-England* they might have found 1000 at least never heard of nor seen by any *Englishman* before : 'Tis true, the Countrey hath no *Boncrcts*, or *Tartarlambs*, no glittering coloured *Tuleps* ; but here you have the *American Mary-Gold*, the *Earth-nut* bearing a princely Flower, the beautiful leaved *Pirola*, the honied *Colibry*, &c. They are generally of (somewhat) a more masculine vertue, than any of the same species in *England*, but not in so terrible a degree, as to be mischievous or ineffectual to our *English* bodies. *It is affirmed by some that no forraign Drugg or Simple can be so proper to Englishmen as their own, for the quantity of Opium which Turks do safely take will kill four Englishmen, and that which will [p. 60.] salve their wounds within a day, will not recure an Englishman in three.* To which I answer that it is custom that brings the *Turks* to the familiar use of *Opium*. You may have heard of a *Taylor* in *Kent*, who being afflicted with want of sleep ventured upon *Opium*, taking at first a grain, and increasfing of it till it came to an ounce, which quantitie he took as familiarly as a *Turk*, without any harm, more than that he could not sleep without it. The *English* in *New-England*

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take

Annexe 10: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 49

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tage to the publick than Tobacco, it is generally made the complement of our entertainment, and hath made more slaves than Mahomet. There is three sorts of it Marchantable, the first horse Tobacco, having a broad long leaf piked at the end; the second round pointed Tobacco; third sweet scented Tobacco. These are made up into Cane, leaf or ball; there is little of it planted in New-England, neither have they learned the right way of curing of it. It is sown in April upon a bed of rich mould sifted, they make a bed about three yards long, or more according to the ground they intend to plant, and a yard and a half over; this they tread down hard, then they sow their seed upon it as thick as may be, and sift fine earth upon it, then tread it down again as hard as possible they can, when it hath gotten four or six leaves, they remove it into the planting ground; when it begins to bud towards flowering, they crop off the [p. 76.] top, for the Flower drawes away the strength of the leaf. For the rest I refer you to the Planter, being not willing to discover their mysteries. The Indians in New England use a small round leaved Tobacco, called by them, or the Fishermen Poke. It is odious to the English. The vertues of Tobacco

Annexe 11: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 61

Of Beasts of the earth there be scarce 120 several kinds, and not much more of the Fowls of the Air, is the opinion of some Naturalists; there are not many kinds of Beasts in *New-England*, they may be divided into Beasts of the Chase of the stinking foot, as *Roes*, *Foxes*, *Jaccals*, *Wolves*, *Wild-cats*, *Raccons*, *Porcupines*, *Squncks*, *Musquashes*, *Squirrels*, *Sables*, and *Mattrises*; and Beasts of the Chase of the sweet foot, *Buck*, *Red Dear*, *Rain-Deer*, *Elke*, *Marouse*, *Maccarib*, *Bear*, *Beaver*, *Otter*, *Marten*, *Hare*.

The *Roe* a kind of Deer, and the fleetest Beast upon earth is here to be found, and is good venison, but not over fat.

The *Fox*, the male is called a dog-fox, the female a bitch-fox, they go a clicketing the beginning of the spring, and bring forth their Cubs in *May* and *June*. There are two or three kinds of them; one a great yellow *Fox*, another grey, who will climb up into Trees; the black *Fox* is of much esteem. *Foxes* and *Wolves* are usually hunted [p. 83.] in *England* from *Holy-Rood* day, till the *Annunciation*. In *New-England* they make best sport in the depth of winter; they lay a sledg-load of Cods-heads on the other side of a paled fence when the moon shines, and about nine or ten of the clock the *Foxes* come to it, sometimes two or three, or half a dozen, and more; these they shoot, and by that time they have cased them, there will

Annexe 12: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 66

The people that inhabited this Countrey are judged to be of the *Tartars* called *Samonids* that border upon *Moscovia*, and are divided into Tribes; those to the East and North-east are called *Churchers* and *Tarentines*, and *Monhegans*. To the South are the *Pequets* and *Narragansets*. Westward *Connecticuts* and *Mowhacks*. To the Northward *Aberginians* which consist of *Mattachusets*, *Wippanaps* and *Tarentines*. The *Pocanokets* live to the Westward of *Plimouth*. Not long before the *English* came into the Countrey, happened a great mortality amongst them, especially where the *English* afterwards planted, the East and Northern parts were sore smitten with the Contagion; first by the plague, afterwards when the *English* came by the

Annexe 13: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 96

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the small pox, the three Kingdoms or *Sagamorships* of the *Mattachusetts* were very populous, having under them seven Dukedoms or petti-*Sagamorships*, but by the plague were brought from 30000 to 300. There are not many now to the Eastward, the *Pequots* were destroyed by the *English* : the *Mowhacks* are about five hundred : Their speech a dialect of the *Tartars*, [p. 124.] (as also is the *Turkish* tongue) There is difference between Tongues and Languages, the division of speech at *Babel* is most properly called Languages, the rest Tongues.

As for their persons they are tall and handsome timber'd people, out-wristed, pale and lean *Tartarian* visag'd, black eyed which is accounted the strongest for fight, and generally black hair'd, both smooth and curl'd wearing of it long. No beards, or very rarely, their Teeth are very white, short and even, they account them the most necessary and best parts of man ; And as the *Austreans* are known by their great lips, the *Bavarians* by their pokes under their chins, the *Jews* by their goggle eyes, so the *Indians* by their flat noses, yet are they not so much deprest as they are to the Southward.

The *Indeffes* that are young, are some of them very comely, having good features, their faces plump and round, and generally plump of their Bodies, as are the men likewise, and as soft and smooth as a mole-skin, of reasonable good complexions, but that they dye themselves tawnie, many prettie Brownetto's and spider finger'd Lasses may be seen amongst them. The *Vetula's* or old women are lean and ugly, all of them are of a modest demeanor, considering their [p. 125.] Savage breeding ; and indeed do shame our *English* rusticks whose rudeness in many things exceedeth theirs.

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Of

Of disposition very inconstant, crafty, timorous, quick of apprehension, and very ingenious, soon angry, and so malicious that they seldom forget an injury, and barbarously cruel, witness their direful revenges upon one another. Prone to injurious violence and slaughter, by reason of their blood dried up with overmuch fire, very lecherous proceeding from choller adust and melancholy, a salt and sharp humour; very figurative or theevish, and bold importunate beggars, both Men and Women guilty of Misfoxenie or hatred to strangers, a quality appropriated to the old Britains, all of them Cannibals, eaters of humane flesh. And so were formerly the Heathen-*Irish*, who used to feed upon the Buttocks of Boyes and Womens Paps; it seems it is natural to Savage people so to do. I have read in Relations of the *Indians* amongst the *Spaniards* that they would not eat a *Spaniard* till they had kept him two or three dayes to wax tender, because their flesh was hard. At *Martins* vinyard, an Island that lyes South to *Plimouth* in the way to *Virginia*, certain *Indians* (whilst I was in the Countrey) seized upon a Boat that put into [p. 126.] a *By-Cove*, kill'd the men and eat them up in a short time before they were discovered.

Their houses which they call *Wigwams*, are built with Poles pitcht into the ground of a round form for most part, sometimes square, they bind down the tops of their poles, leaving a hole for smoak to go out at, the rest they cover with the bark of Trees, and line the inside of their *Wigwams* with mats made of Rushes painted with several colours, one good post they set up in the middle that reaches to the hole in the top, with a staff across before it at a convenient height, they knock in a pin on which they hang

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since they have had to do with the English they purchase of them a sort of Cloth called trading cloth of which they make Mantles, Coats with short sleeves, and caps for their heads which the women use, but the men continue their old fashion going bare-headed, excepting some old men amongst them. They are very proud as appeareth by their setting themselves out with white and blew Beads of their own making, and painting of their faces with the above mentioned colours, they weave sometimes curious Coats with *Turkie* feathers for their Children.

Annexe 16 : JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 101

ica. It hath continued amongst us above two hundred and three score years. There are Diseases that are proper to certain climates, as the Leprosie to *Ægypt*, swelling of the Throat or *Mentegra* to *Asia*, the sweating sickness to the Inhabitants of the North ; to the *Portugals* the Phthisick, to *Savoy* the mumps ; So to the *West-Indies* the Pox, but this doth not exclude other Diseases. In *New-England* the *Indians* are afflicted with pestilent Feavers, Plague, Black-pox, Consumption of the Lungs, Falling-sickness, Kings-evil, and a Disease called by the *Spaniard* the Plague in the back, with us *Empyema*, their Physicians are the *Powaws* or *Indian* Priests who cure sometimes

Annexe 17: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 102

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times by charms and medicine, but in a general infection they seldom come amongst them, [p. 132.] therefore they use their own remedies, which is sweating, &c. Their manner is when they have plague or small pox amongst them to cover their *Wigwams* with Bark so close that no Air can enter in, lining them (as I said before) within, and making a great fire they remain there in a stewing heat till they are in a top sweat, and then run out into the Sea or River, and presently after they are come into their Hutts again they either recover or give up the Ghost; they dye patiently both men and women, not knowing of a Hell to scare them, nor a Conscience to terrifie them. In times of general Mortality they omit the Ceremonies of burying, exposing their dead Carcasses to the Beasts of prey. But at other times they dig a Pit and set the diseased therein upon his breech upright, and throwing in the earth, cover it with the sods and bind them down with sticks, driving in two stakes at each end; their mournings are somewhat like the howlings of the *Irish*, seldom at the grave but in the *Wigwam* where the party dyed, blaming the Devil for his hard heartedness, and concluding with rude prayers to him to afflict them no further.

They acknowledge a God who they call *Squantam*, but worship him they do not, [p. 133.] because (they say) he will do them no harm. But *Abbamoch* or *Cheepie* many times finites them with incurable Diseases, scares them with his Apparitions and pannick Terroures, by reason whereof they live in a wretched consternation worshipping the Devil for fear. One black *Robin* an *Indian* sitting down in the Corn field belonging to the house where I resided, ran out of his *Wigwam* frightened with the apparition

rition of two infernal spirits in the shape of *Mohawks*. Another time two *Indians* and an *Indef*s, came running into our house crying out they should all dye, *Cheepie* was gone over the field gliding in the Air with a long rope hanging from one of his legs : we askt them what he was like, they said all wone *Englishman*, clothed with hat and coat, shooes and stockings, &c. They have a remarkable observation of a flame that appears before the death of an *Indian* or *English* upon their *Wigwams* in the dead of the night : The first time that I did see it, I was call'd out by some of them about twelve of the clock, it being a very dark night, I perceived it plainly mounting into the Air over our Church, which was built upon a plain little more than half a quarter of a mile from our dwelling house, on the Northside of the Church : look on [p. 134.] what side of a house it appears, from that Coast respectively you shall hear of a Coarse within two or three days.

They worship the Devil (as I said) their Priests are called *Powaws* and are little better than Witches, for they have familiar conference with him, who makes them invulnerable, that is shot-free and stick-free. Craftie Rogues, abusing the rest at their pleasure, having power over them by reason of their Diabolical Art in curing of Diseases, which is performed with rude Ceremonies ; they place the sick upon the ground sitting, and dance in an Antick manner round about him, beating their naked breasts with a strong hand, and making hideous faces, sometimes calling upon the Devil for his help, mingling their prayers with horrid and barbarous charms ; if the sick recover they send rich gifts, their Bowes and Arrowes, *Wompompers*, *Mohacks*, *Beaver skins*, or other rich Furs to the Eastward, where
there

Their Theologie is not much, but questionless they acknowledge a God and a Devil, and some small light they have of the Souls immortality ; for ask them [p. 135.] whither they go when they dye, they will tell you pointing with their finger to Heaven beyond the white mountains, and do hint at *Noah's* Floud, as may be conceived by a story they have received from Father to Son, time out of mind, that a great while agon their Countrey was drowned, and all the People and other Creatures in it, only one *Powaw* and his *Webb* foreseeing the Floud, fled to the white mountains carrying a hare along with them and so escaped ; after a while the *Powaw* sent the *Hare* away, who not returning emboldned thereby they descended, and lived many years after, and had many Children, from whom the Countrie was filled again with *Indians*. Some of them tell another story of the *Beaver*, saying that he was their Father.

Annexe 19: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 105

Arithmetick they skill not, reckoning to ten upon their fingers, and if more doubling of it by holding their fingers up, their age they reckon by Moons, and their actions by sleeps, as, if they go a journie, or are to do any other bufiness they will say, three sleeps me walk, or two or three sleeps me do such a thing, that is in two or three days. Astronomie too they have no knowledge of, feldom or never taking observation of the Stars, Eclipses, or Comets that I could perceive; but they will Prognosticate shrewdly what weather will fall out. They are generally excellent *Zenagogues* or guides through their Countrey.

Their exercises are hunting and fishing, in both they will take abundance of pains. When the snow will bear them, the young and lustie *Indians*, (leaving their papoues and old people at home) go forth to hunt *Moose*, *Deere*, *Bear* and *Beaver*, Thirty or forty miles up into the Countrey; when they light upon a *Moose* they run him down, [p. 137.] which is sometimes in half a day, sometimes a whole day, but never give him over till they have tyred him, the snow being usually four foot deep, and the Beast very heavie he sinks every step, and as he runs sometimes bears down Arms of Trees that hang in his way,

Annexe 20: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 106

gobbets, eating now and then with it as much meal as they can hold betwixt three fingers; their drink they fetch from the spring, and were not acquainted with other, untill the *French* and *English* traded with that curfed liquor [p. 139.] called *Rum*, *Rum-bullion*, or kill-Devil, which is stronger than spirit of Wine, and is drawn from the dross of Sugar and Sugar Canes, this they love dearly, and will part with all they have to their bare skins for it, being perpetually drunk with it, as long as it is to be had, it hath killed many of them, especially old women who have dyed when dead drunk. Thus instead of bringing of them to the knowledge of Christianitie, we have taught them to commit the beastly and crying sins of our Nation, for a little profit. When the *Indians* have stufte their paunches,

Annexe 21: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 108

Their Merchandize are their beads, which are their money, of these there are two sorts blew Beads and white Beads, the first is their Gold, the last their Silver, these they work out of certain shells so cunningly that neither
Few

Annexe 22: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Harvard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 110

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Jew nor Devil can counterfeit, they drill them and string them, and make many curious works with them to [p. 143.] adorn the persons of their *Sagamours* and principal men and young women, as Belts, Girdles, Tablets, Borders for their womens hair, Bracelets, Necklaces, and links to hang in their ears. Prince *Phillip* a little before I came for *England* coming to *Boston* had a Coat on and Buskins set thick with these Beads in pleasant wild works and a broad Belt of the same, his Accoutrements were valued at Twenty pounds. The *English* Merchant giveth them ten shillings a fathom for their white, and as much more or near upon for their blew Beads. Delicate sweet dishes too they make of *Birch-Bark* sowed with threads drawn from *Spruce* or white *Cedar-Roots*, and garnished on the out-side with flourisht works, and on the brims with glistering quills taken from the *Porcupine*, and dyed, some black, others red, the white are natural, these they make of all sizes from a dram cup to a dish containing a pottle, likewise Buckets to carry water or the like, large Boxes too of the same materials, dishes, spoons and trays wrought very smooth and neatly out of the knots of wood, baskets, bags, and matts woven with *Sparke*, bark of the *Line-Tree* and *Rushes* of several kinds, dyed as before, some black, blew, red, yellow, bags of *Porcupine* quills woven and dyed also; Coats woven of [p. 144.] *Turkie*-feathers for their Children, Tobacco pipes of stone with Imagerie upon them, Kettles of *Birchen-bark* which they used before they traded with the *French* for Copper Kettles, by all which you may apparently see that necessity was at first the mother of all inventions. The women are the workers of most of these, and are now, here and there
one

Annexe 22 bis: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 111

one excellent needle woman, and will milk a Cow neatly, their richest trade are Furs of divers sorts, Black *Fox*, *Beaver*, *Otter*, *Beaver*, *Sables*, *Matrices*, *Fox*, *Wild-Cat*, *Rat-toons*, *Martins*, *Musquash*, *Moose-skins*.

Ships they have none, but do prettily imitate ours in their *Birchen-pinnaces*, their *Canows* are made of *Birch*, they shape them with flat Ribbs of white *Cedar*, and cover them with large sheets of *Birch-bark*, fowing them through with strong threds of *Spruce-Roots* or white *Cedar*, and pitch them with a mixture of *Turpentine* and the hard rosen that is dried with the Air on the out-side of the Bark of *Firr-Trees*. These will carry half a dozen or

Annexe 23: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 112

[p. 146.] Their Government is monarchical, the Patru-eius or they that descend from the eldest proceeding from his loyns, is the Roytelet of the Tribe, and if he have Daughters, his Son dying without a Son, the Government descends to his Daughters Son : after the same manner, their lands descend. *Cheetadaback* was the chief *Sachem* or *Roytelet* of the *Massachusets*, when the *English* first set down there. *Massasoit*, the great *Sachem* of the *Plimouth Indians*, his dwelling was at a place called *Sowans*, about four miles distant from *New-Plimouth*. *Sasafacus* was the chief *Sachem* of the *Pequots*, and *Mientoniack* of the *Narragansets*. The chief *Roytelet* amongst the *Mohawks* now living, is a *Dutchmans* Bastard, and the *Roytelet* now of the *Pocanacks*, that is the *Plimouth-Indians*, is Prince *Philip* alias *Metacon*, the Grandson of *Massasoit*. Amongst the Eastern *Indians*, *Summerfant* formerly was a famous *Sachem*. The now living *Sachems* of note are *Sabacaman*, *Terrumkin* and *Robinhood*.

Their Wars are with Neighbouring Tribes, but the *Mohawks* are enemies to all the other *Indians*, their weapons of Defence and Offence are Bowes and Arrowes, of late he is a poor *Indian* that is not [p. 147.] master of

1

two

Annexe 24: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 113

two Guns, which they purchase of the *French*, and powder and shot, they are generally excellent marks men ; their other weapons are *Tamahawks* which are staves two foot and a half long with a knob at the end as round as a bowl, and as big as that we call the Jack or Mistrifs. Lances too they have made (as I have said before) with broken sword blades, likewise they have Hatchets and knives ; but these are weapons of a latter date. They colour their faces red all over, supposing that it makes them the more terrible, they are lusty Souldiers to see to and very strong, meer *Hercules Rusticus*, their fights are by Ambushments and Surprises, coming upon one another unawares. They will march a hundred miles through thick woods and swamps to the *Mowhawks* Countrey, and the *Mowhawks* into their Countrey, meeting sometimes in the woods, or when they come into an *Enemies* Countrey build a rude fort with *Pallizadoes*, having loop-holes out of which they shoot their Arrowes, and fire their Guns, pelting at one another a week or moneth together ; If any of them step out of the Fort they are in danger to be taken prisoners by the one side or the other ; that side that gets the victory excoriates the hair-scalp of the principal slain Enemies which [p. 148.] they bear away in Triumph, their prisoners they bring home, the old men and women they knock in the head, the young women they keep, and the men of war they torture to death as the Eastern *Indians* did two *Mowhawks* whilst I was there, they bind him to a Tree and make a great fire before him, then with sharp knives they cut off the first joynts of his fingers and toes, then clap upon them hot Embers to fear the vains ; so they cut him a pieces joynt after joynt,

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joynt, still applying hot Embers to the place to stanch the bloud, making the poor wretch to sing all the while : when Arms and Legs are gone, they flay off the skin of their Heads, and presently put on a Cap of burning Embers, then they open his breast and take out his heart, which while it is yet living in a manner they give to their old Squaes, who are every one to have a bite at it. These Barbarous Customs were used amongst them more frequently before the *English* came ; but since by the great mercy of the Almighty they are in a way to be Civilized and converted to Christianity; there being three Churches of *Indians* gathered together by the pains of Mr. *John Eliot* and his Son, who Preaches to them in their Native language, and hath rendered the Bible in that Language for the benefit of [p. 149.] the *Indians*. These go clothed like the *English*, live in framed houses, have stocks of Corn and Cattle about them, which when they are fat they bring to the *English* Markets, the Hogs that they rear are counted the best in *New-England*. Some of their Sons have been brought up Scholars in *Harvard Colledge*, and I was told that there was but two Fellowes in that Colledge, and one of them was an *Indian* ; some few of these Christian *Indians* have of late Apostatized and fallen back to their old Superstition and course of life.

Annexe 26: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 115

Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* a west Countrey Knight took possession of it in the Queens name, *Anno* 1582. The two first Colonies in *New-England* failing, there was a fresh supply of *English* who set down in other parts of the Countrey, and have continued in a flourishing condition to this day.

The whole Countrey now is divided into Colonies, and for your better understanding observe, a Colony is a sort of people that come to inhabit a place before not inhabited, or *Colonus quasi*, because they should be Tillers of the Earth. From hence by an usual figure the Countrey where they sit down, is called a Colony or Plantation.

The first of these that I shall relate of, though last in possession of the *English*, is now our most Southerly Colony, and next [p. 153.] adjoining to *Mary-land*, *scil.* the *Manadaes* or *Manahacnt* lying upon the great River *Mohegan*, which was first discovered by Mr. *Hudson*, and sold presently by him to the *Dutch* without Authority from his Sovereign the King of *England*, *Anno* 1608. The *Dutch* in 1614 began to plant there, and call'd it *New-Netherlands*, but Sir *Samuel Argal* Governour of *Virginia* routed them, the *Dutch* after this got leave of King *James* to put in there for fresh water in their passage to *Brafile*, and did not offer to plant until a good while after the *English* were settled in the Countrey. In *Anno* 1664 his Majestie *Charles* the Second sent over four worthie Gentlemen Commissioners to reduce the Colonies into their bounds, who had before incroached upon one another, who marching with Three hundred red-Coats to *Manadaes* or *Manhataes* took from the *Dutch* their chief town then called *New-Amsterdam*, now *New York*; the
Twenty

The Twelfth of *July Anno Dom. 1630. John Wenthorp* Esq; and the assistants, arrived with the Patent for the *Massachusetts*, the passage of the people that came along with him in ten Vessels came to 95000 pound: the Swine, Goats, Sheep, Neat, Horses cost to transport 12000 pound, besides the price they cost them; getting food for the people till they could clear the ground of wood amounted to 45000 pound: Nails, Glasse, and other Iron work for their meeting and dwelling houses 13000 pound; Arms, Powder, Bullet, and Match, together with their Artillery 22000 pound, the whole sum amounts unto One hundred ninety two thousand pounds. They set down first upon *Noddles-Island*, afterwards they began to build upon the main. In 1637. there were not many houses in the Town of [p. 173.] *Boston*, amongst which were two houses of entertainment called Ordinaries, into which if a stranger went,

Annexe 28: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 132

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went, he was presently followed by one appointed to that Office, who would thrust himself into his company uninvited, and if he called for more drink than the Officer thought in his judgment he could soberly bear away, he would presently countermand it, and appoint the proportion, beyond which he could not get one drop.

The Patent was granted to Sir *Henry Roswell*, Sir *John Young* Knight, *Thomas Southcoat*, *John Humphrey*, *John Endicot*, and *Simon Whitecomb*, and to their Heirs, Assigns, and Associates for ever. These took to them other Associates, as Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, *Isaac Johnson*, *Samuel Aldersey*, *Jo. Ven*, *Matth. Craddock*, *George Harwood*, *Increase Nowell*, *Rich. Perry*, *Rich. Bellingham*, *Nathaniel Wright*, *Samuel Vassell*, *Theophilus Eaton*, *Thomas Goffe*, *Thomas Adams*, *Jo. Brown*, *Samuel Brown*, *Thomas Hutchins*, *Will. Vassell*, *Will. Pinchon* and *George Foxcroft*. *Matth. Craddock* was ordained and constituted Governour by Patent, and *Thomas Goffe* Deputy Governour of the said Company, the rest Assistants.

That part of *New-England* granted to [p. 174.] these fore-mentioned Gentlemen lyeth and extendeth between a great River called *Monumach*, alias *Merrimach*, and the often frequented *Charles-River*, being in the bottom of a Bay called *Massachusetts*, alias *Mattachusetts*, alias *Massachusetts-bay*; and also those lands within the space of three *English* miles, on the South part of the said *Charles-River*, or any or every part, and all the lands within three miles to the South-ward part of the *Massachusetts-bay*, and all those lands which lye within the space of three *English* miles to the North-ward of the River *Merrimach*, or to the North-ward of any and every part thereof,

Islands lying in *America* aforefaid in the faid Seas, or either of them on the Western or Eastern [p. 175.] Coasts or parts of the faid tracts of lands. Also all mines and minerals as well Royal of Gold, Silver, as others &c. With power to rule and govern both Sea and land, holden of the East manner of *Greenwich* in *Com. Kent*, in free and common foccage, yielding and paying to the King the fifth part of the Oar of Gold and Silver which shall be found at any time.

This Colony is a body Corporated and Politick in fact by the name of the Governour and Company of the *Mat-tachusets-bay* in *New-England*.

That there shall be one Governour, and Deputy-Governour, and Eighteen Assistants of the same Company from time to time.

That the Governour and Deputy-Governour, Assistants and all other Officers to be chosen from amongst the free-men, the last *Wednesday* in *Easter-term* yearly in the general Court.

The

Annexe 30: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 134

Two Voyages to New-England.

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The Governour to take his Corporal Oath to be true and faithful to the Government, and to give the same Oath to the other Officers.

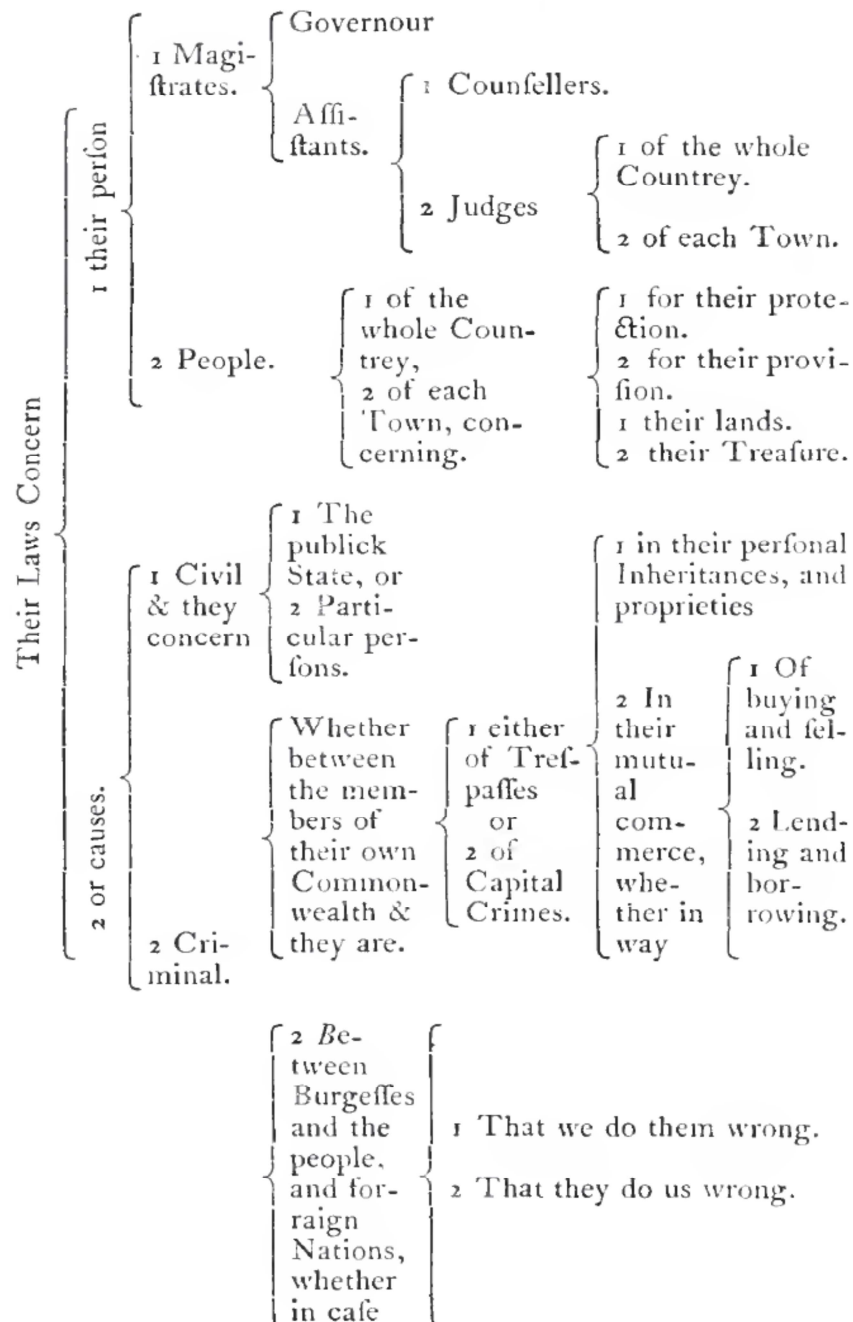
[p. 176.] To hold a Court once a month, and any seven to be a sufficient Court.

And that there shall be four general Courts kept in Term time, and one great general and folemn Affembly to make Laws and Ordinances ; So they be not contrary and repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm of *England*. Their form of Government and what their Laws concern, you may see in the ensuing Table.

Their

Annexe 31: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 135

[p. 177.]



[p. 178.] *Anno Dom.* 1646. they drew up a body c
 their Laws for the well ordering of their Commonwealth
 as they not long since termed it.

Annexe 31 bis: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston,
 Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 136

Two Voyages to New-England.

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by one Major-General, and three Serjeant Majors ; to the Major-General belongeth particularly the Town of *Boston*, to the three Serjeant Majors belong the four Counties, but with submission to the Major-General. The first Serjeant Major chosen for the County of *Suffolk* was Major *Gibbons*. For the County of *Middlesex* Major *Sedgwick*. For the County of *Essex* and *Northfolk* Major *Denison*.

Every Town sends two Burgeffes to their great and solemn general Court.

For being drunk, they either whip or impose a fine of Five shillings ; so for swearing and cursing, or boring through the tongue with a hot Iron.

For kissing a woman in the street, though in way of civil salute, whipping or a fine.

For Single fornication whipping or a fine.

For Adultery, put to death, and so for witchcraft.

An *English* woman suffering an *Indian* to have carnal knowledge of her, had an *Indian* cut out exactly in red cloth sewed [p. 179.] upon her right Arm, and enjoined to wear it twelve moneths.

Scolds they gag and set them at their doors for certain hours, for all comers and goers by to gaze at.

Stealing is punished with restoring four fould, if able ; if not, they are sold for some years, and so are poor debtors.

If you desire a further inspection to their Laws, I must refer you to them being in print, too many for to be inserted into this Relation.

The Governments of their Churches are Independent and Presbyterial, every Church (for so they call their particular

ticular Congregations) have one Pastor, one Teacher, Ruling Elders and Deacons.

They that are members of their Churches have the Sacraments administred to them, the rest that are out of the pale as they phrase it, are denyed it. Many hundred Souls there be amongst them grown up to men & womens estate that were never Chriftened.

They judge every man and woman to pay Five shillings *per* day, who comes not to their Assemblies, and impose fines of forty shillings and fifty shillings on such as meet together to worship God.

[p. 180.] Quakers they whip, banish, and hang if they return again.

Anabaptists they imprison, fine and weary out.

The Government both Civil and Ecclesiastical is in the hands of the thorow-pac'd Independents and rigid Presbyterians.

The grose *Goddons*, or great masters, as also some of their Merchants are damnable rich ; generally all of their judgement, inexplicably covetous and proud, they receive your gifts but as an homage or tribute due to their transcendency, which is a fault their Clergie are also guilty of, whose living is upon the bounty of their hearers. On Sundays in the afternoon when Sermon is ended the people in the Galleries come down and march two a breast

Annexe 33: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 138

The chiefeſt objects of diſcipline, Religion, [p. 181.] and morality they want, ſome are of a *Linſie-woolſie* diſpoſition, of ſeveral profeſſions in Religion, all like *Æthiopians* white in the Teeth only, full of ludification and injurious dealing, and cruelty the extreameſt of all vices. The chiefeſt cauſe of *Noah's* flood, Prov. 27. 26. *Agni erant ad veſtitum tuum*, is a frequent Text among them, no trading for a ſtranger with them, but with a *Græcian* faith, which is not to part with your ware without ready money, for they are generally in their payments reſuſant and ſlow, great Syndies, or cenſors, or controllers of other mens manners, and ſavagely factious amongſt themſelves.

There are many ſtrange women too, (in *Salomon's* ſence) more the pitty, when a woman hath loſt her Chaſtity, ſhe hath no more to loſe.

But miſtake me not to general ſpeeches, none but the guilty take exceptions, there are many ſincere and religious people amongſt them, deſcryed by their charity and humility (the true Characters of Chriſtianity) by their Zenodochie or hoſpitality, by their hearty ſubmiſſion to their Sovereign the King of *England*, by their diligent and honeſt labour in their callings, amongſt theſe we may account the Royaliſts, who are lookt upon with an evil eye, and [p. 182.] tongue, boulted or puniſhed if they chance to laſh out; the tame *Indian* (for ſo they call thoſe that are born in the Countrey) are pretty honeſt too, and may in good time be known for honeſt Kings men.

They have flore of Children, and are well accommodated

dated with Servants ; many hands make light work, many hands make a full fraught, but many mouths eat up all, as some old planters have experimented ; of these some are *English*, others *Negroes* : of the *English* there are can eat till they sweat, and work till they freeze ; & and of the females that are like Mrs. *Winters* paddocks, very tender fingerd in cold weather.

There are none that beg in the Countrey, but there be Witches too many, bottle-bellied Witches amongst the Quakers, and others that produce many strange apparitions if you will believe report, of a *Shallop* at Sea man'd with women ; of a Ship, and a great red Horfe standing by the main-mast, the Ship being in a small *Cove* to the East-ward vanished of a suddain. Of a Witch that appeared aboard of a Ship twenty leagues to Sea to a Mariner who took up the Carpenters broad Axe and cleft her head with it, the Witch dying of the wound at home, with such like bugbears and *Terriculamentaes*.

[p. 183.] It is published in print, that there are not much less than Ten hundred thousand souls *English*, *Scotch* and *Irish* in *New-England*.

Annexe 35: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 140

Nova Scotia was sold by the Lord *Starling* to the *French*, and is now wholly in their possession.

Now we are come to *New-found-land*, which is over against the gulf of *St. Lawrence*, an Island near as spacious as *Ireland*, and lyeth distant from the Continent as far as *England* is from the nearest part of *France*, and near half the way between *Ireland* and *Virginia*, its longitude is 334 degrees 20 seconds, and North latitude 46 degrees 30 minutes, or as others will 53 minutes. *The longitude of places are uncertainly reported, but in latitudes most agree.* [p. 206.] *Longitude is the distance of the meridian of any place from the meridian which passeth over the Isles of Azores, where the beginning of longitude is said*

Annexe 36: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 157

The fishermen take yearly upon the coasts many hundred kentals of Cod, hake, haddock, polluck &c. which they split, salt and dry at their stages, making three voyages in a year. When they share their fish (which is at the end of every voyage) they separate the best from the worst, the first they call Merchantable fish, being sound, full grown fish and well made up, which is known when it is clear like a Lanthorn horn and without spots ; the second sort they call refuse fish, that is such as is salt burnt, spotted, rotten, and carelessly ordered : these they put off to the *Massachusetts* Merchants ; the merchantable for thirty and two and thirty ryals a kental, (a kental is an hundred and twelve pound weight) the refuse for Nine shillings and
Ten

Annexe 37: JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 160

Two Voyages to New-England. 161

Ten shillings a kental, the Merchant sends the merchantable fish to *Lisbonne, Bilbo, Burdeaux, Marfiles, Talloon, Rochel, Roan*, and other Cities of *France*, to the *Canaries* with claw-board and pipe-staves which is there and at the *Charibs* a prime Commodity : the refuse fish they put [p. 211.] off at the *Charib-Islands, Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c.* who feed their *Negrocs* with it.

To every Shallop belong four fishermen, a Master or Steersman, a Midship-man, and a Foremast-man, and a shore man who washes it out of the salt, and dries it upon hurdles nitcht upon stakes breast high and tends their

Annexe 37 bis : JOSSELYN John, *An Account of two voyages to New-England*, Boston, Library of Havard College, (1ère ed 1675) 1865 (source archive.org), page 161

Illustration de couverture Carte de l'Amérique septentrionale et partie de la méridionale par Claude Bernou,
Paris, 1682 (BNF)